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Kozyrev Attends Conference on Near East

LD0311130893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Nov 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A conference on the Near East began work in Moscow today. The regular meeting of the multilateral working group on arms control and regional security in the Near East is being held in a completely different atmosphere compared with previous rounds. Those taking part noted that the signing and the beginning of the practical implementation of the Palestinian-Israeli agreement is an event of truly historic significance, foreshadowing the end of one of the most protracted and bloody regional conflicts.

Andrey Kozyrev noted that to achieve a genuine and lasting peace in the Near East a great deal still must be done and serious obstacles must be overcome. He advanced in particular the idea of creating an international center for controlling conflict situations in the region of the Near East.

PRAVDA on Minsk Meeting on Arms Issues

PM0311134193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 93 p 3

[Vladimir Potapov report under the general heading "A Month Without PRAVDA": "New Syndrome. Remarks on the Minsk Meeting"]

[Text] PRAVDA was living and working even during the days when its publication was once again forcibly halted. I represented the newspaper's position during those days in the Belarusian capital at a seminar of jounalists entitled "Press Coverage of the Problems of Superweapons." It was organized by the Russian-U.S. Information Press Center.

The Minsk meeting was perhaps the first international forum of mass media representatives since the House of Soviets in Moscow was smashed and burned before the eyes of the whole world. Hence, despite the clarity of the specified topic, the shock of what had happened made itself felt. The stance taken by the official leaders of the leading world powers also assisted this. It demonstrated the shakiness of the cornerstone principles of Western civilization—such as parliamentarianism and the supremacy of the law. But most importantly, it forced people to doubt the sincerity of the West's commitment to the values and ideals which it has hitherto preached to the world.

Nor, it turns out, do these upheavals—on the level of both morality and law—promote the reinforcement of the security of peoples. You do not have to go far to look for examples. Here is just one. Washington and other capitals do not conceal their concern over the Soviet Union's nuclear legacy. They constantly remind Kiev, Minsk, and Almaty of their obligations stemming from the Lisbon protocol to withdraw nuclear weapons and acquire nuclear-free status. However, the moment that Western leaders began seriously speaking of considerations other than the law, considerations, they claim, of a higher order, they embarked on the road of encouraging illegality in general. The temptation for advocates of disregarding generally accepted norms and obligations, including in the nuclear sphere, was increased and a pretext was given for transforming any document that is inconvenient to someone into a meaningless piece of paper. And such feelings exist not only among the heirs to the USSR.

For some reason a veil of silence has been drawn over the fact that the tank bombardment of the House of Soviets was, figuratively speaking, simultaneously bombardment of an international institution—the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly, whose leader has been clapped into a Russian jail. This is a depressing precedent for world law and order.

Obviously it came as no surprise that participants in the seminar reacted to the reply of a Ukrainian expert who had visited us, among others, with stony silence. He was asked what in the final analysis guarantees Ukraine's acquisition of nuclear-free status. In his answer the expert referred to the legislative acts of the republic Supreme Council and the obligation of executive structures to observe them by virtue of the constitution...

Recalling the Minsk discussions, whether you like it or not, you come to a conclusion which, I think, my Belarusian, Ukrainian, and Kazakh colleagues and U.S. journalists W. Burrows and M. Gibbs would share. For the first time we sensed the "Russian syndrome" which the world has developed recently. The consequences of this will make themselves felt. And not only in the CIS. Let me cite, for instance, the words of E. Shillinger, the American codirector of the Russian-U.S. Press Center, who was forced to acknowledge, in summing up the debates, that "President Clinton does not fully understand the Russian situation."

Nazarbayev Elected President of Aral Sea Fund

LD0411180793 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0500 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] An international fund Save the Aral Sea and an economic Aral Bank have been set up. President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev was elected the first president of the fund. He has urged leaders of foreign countries to help in saving the Aral Sea. U.S. President Clinton, British Prime Minister Major, French President Mitterrand, and Turkish President Demirel promised their support.

Kravchuk Proposes CIS Summit for Mid-December

LD0511122893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1051 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 5 Nov—CIS Executive [ispolnitelnyy] Secretary Ivan Korotchenya today informed Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, of the Ukraine president's wish that the next meeting of heads of CIS states be held in Minsk in mid-December. The Ukrainian leader feels that it would be expedient if the meeting were to coincide with the next anniversary of the CIS, he said. Leonid Kravchuk also proposed that the chairman of the Belarus parliament prepare a political report on the state of the CIS and the prospects for its development.

Leonid Kravchuk first made the proposal to hold the meeting in December in Minsk on 1 November during discussions with the CIS executive secretary in Kiev.

New 'Toughness' Urged in Caucasus

PM0311163593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 93 p 3

[Sergey Chernykh and Elchin Geyolchu article: "Georgia-Russia: Time To Gather Stones"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The assumptions that following the Azerbaijani, Armenian, and Russian statements regarding military aid for Georgia, these states' combined armed forces would immediately carry out a joint attack on Georgian opposition forces are at the least naive. Nevertheless various Georgian departments' press centers are saying precisely that. Journalists are interested as to when military convoys will cross the Red Bridge, the point where the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani borders meet, en route for rebel Mengrelia.

After a long debate the Armenian parliament failed to adopt any decision on this. Azerbaijan's military-political experts in turn cannot even imagine a mechanism for their country to participate in this action. Appealing to precedent, a Baku government mouthpiece recalled that early this century two or three guns and several hundred rifles were sent to Georgia. But they were then used for a "sacred cause"—war with Armenia. It can hardly be called a daring hypothesis to suggest that today things will go no further than a declaration of intent. If the incredible happens and Armenian-Azerbaijani units end up in the front line of the battle against the Zviadists, the command's main concern will be to put them on opposite flanks.

Nor are there many optimists in the Russian Defense Ministry. The Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus [GRFT] headquarters is tired of denying reports that troops have begun moving into Western Georgia.

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev is right pro forma in saying that official Moscow and Tbilisi have no accords whereby Russian tanks would go to Zugdidi. Grachev clearly hinted that he does not approve of this undertaking but is forced to obey the president's decision. The work of preparing for the signing of documents regulating Russian-Georgian relations ended six weeks ago. But at the time Ambassador at Large Feliks Kovalev, the Russian delegation head, was not particularly delighted at the signing of the draft Treaty on Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation.

"During the talks the heads of state, Yeltsin and Shevardnadze, decided that the treaty would be signed on favorable terms," Kovalev said. "I will voice my own opinion: It is hard for me to consider the prevailing situation as 'favorable terms.' GRFT officers when polled were extremely negative about the idea of getting involved in the internecine strife in Georgia. They have their own complaints about the republic's leadership. This year alone 12 Russian servicemen have died on Georgian territory. Dozens have been wounded. Seizures of GRFT property, attacks, and other crimes have become commonplace. According to Colonel of Justice Valeriy Yevtushenko, the military prosecutor, no criminal proceedings have as yet been instituted against any attacker.

Around 45 percent of the total number of offenses have been committed not by criminals but by quite specific official representatives. These 45 percent account for 98 percent of the material damage incurred by the Russian Federation. Bandits account for 55 percent of the crimes and only 2 percent of the damage.

The real result of the "quadripartite accord" on combating the western Georgia opposition was the accord on shipments to Georgia of weapons, equipment, humanitarian aid, and fuel and lubricants.

There is also another option. The wording regarding defense of the "vitally important Poti-Tbilisi route" may be interpreted very broadly—ranging from groups of assault riflemen escorting railroad stock to a systematic cleanup [raschistka] on Mengrelian territory. Be that as it may, the Russian Foreign and Defense Ministries will have to carry out the president's promises. Otherwise Russia's prestige in Georgia will no longer rescue anything.

Shevardnadze spoke of "a new relationship with Russia" and joined the CIS. In the midst of a blockade and a semilegal war Armenia has managed to preserve the population's living standard and even increase production, and that it has repeatedly had Russia to thank. Geydar Aliyev, now leading Azerbaijan, does not miss an opportunity to recall its 200-year-old ties with Russia and the fact that around 1 million Azerbaijanis live in Russia.

While Iran and Turkey have been fighting for influence in the Transcaucasus, the three states in the region have simultaneously "turned their back on the south and faced north." Hundreds of millions in credit and preferential shipments of commodities have failed to halt this process.

The political defeat suffered by the pro-Turkish People's Front in Azerbaijan, the old strife between Turkey and Armenia, and the need to provide Georgia with immediate aid restored Russia's role as the symbolic "elder brother." In the opinion of the newspaper SVOBODNAYA GEORGIYA, Russia's policy in the Transcaucasus as in the Balkans is a factor checking the "infiltration" of these regions by Turkey and by other Islamic world countries in its wake.

Azerbaijan and Armenia have already resigned themselves to the fact that the world was divided up before they acquired independence. Georgia is the last to realize this. The sobering-up period began in the republic only after Shevardnadze said that the republic was unable to integrate into the world community and Russia was its last chance of survival.

In just a few years Georgia has reverted to the fragmented state it was in during the late 18th century. It was like a movie reel rewound at unimaginable speed. In 1783 the Georgiyevsk Treaty was signed. Shevardnadze's aide, Teymuraz Stepanov (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's former own correspondent for Georgia), is probably one of the most neutral people in the republic. He believes that it is not a question of Russia or of Georgia's actions in each specific instance but of groupings with their own definite interests. Each of them tries to "work in" its own idea, and as a result both Russia and Georgia are rocked.

"Until relations with Russia are normalized, there can be no question of escaping from the crisis. Whatever our radicals may say," Stepanov believes, "Georgia's economy has always been geared to Russia, but these ties were destroyed by the Georgian leadership's extremely radical policy, fatal to the country and the people. I am staggered that those people who strove to secure independence did not tell their people how it would be guaranteed. Our street politicians foisted on the people the image of the Russian monster..."

In October 1993 Shevardnadze effectively asked Russia to make another attempt to unite Georgia. Once again several different peoples will be squeezed into the borders of one state.

This may stabilize the situation in the North Caucasus. But the reverse effect is also possible.

During the Confederation of Caucasus Mountain Peoples Congress in 1990 Sukhumi was declared the capital of this association. This enabled the group of Muslim leaders in southern Russia to obtain an outlet to the sea. The fight for this corridor is still going on now. A number of politicians worried by the increase in the Muslim factor in many regions are sounding the alarm. In their opinion, the creation of a powerful Islamic alliance of North Caucasian ethnic groups would take only a matter of a few weeks. The arguments cited by the supporters of this theory are quite cogent: The strengthening of the Dagestan-Chechnya-Ingushetia-Kabardino-Balkaria-Adygeya-Abkhazia line cuts off Georgia and Armenia from the Christian world. This conglomerate poses a very real threat to Russia's southern borders.

People in the Caucasus still take Russia into consideration. After a short lapse Russia has returned to the region. It may be that divisions withdrawn from Europe should now be expected to move to the cities of Ganja and Stepanakert. However, Ankara has already opposed an increase in the Russian military presence in the Transcaucasus. Of course, adjacent countries may not like this, but other delicate factors must also be taken into consideration. The world community should be worried not so much by the well-known Russian cudgel as by the possibility of intra-Russian conflicts spilling out from its territory. Were it to explode, the Transcaucasian powder key could provoke equally powerful explosions far outside that region.

The current assertion of Russia's positions in the Transcaucasus does not represent a definitive victory. Moscow has to step up pressure to a certain limit, the bounds of which are extremely fuzzy. Toughness must go hand in hand with extreme caution and delicacy. There are too many clashes. Too many weapons. The peoples are too diverse. Russia must win over the opposition at local level, reach agreements with "more distant countries," persuade its military to forget old grievances, and earmark huge funds for the independent states that are once again under its patronage.

Baltic Assembly Positions on NATO, Russian Pullout

PM0411154993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 3

[Sergey Knyazkov report: "Baltic Unity Strengthened. Baltic Assembly Still Pressing for Speediest Withdrawal of Russian Troops from Baltic"]

[Text] The third plenary session of the Baltic Assembly has been held in Tallinn. According to Petris Vinkelis, first secretary at the Latvian Embassy in Moscow, it was very important because the "Statute on the Baltic Assembly of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Republics" was adopted. Comprising 60 parliamentary deputies (20 from each of the three countries), the assembly will coordinate cooperation among the Baltic countries in the legal and socioeconomic spheres as well as in the fields of ecology, power generation, education, science, culture, communications, security, and foreign relations.

In addition to the "Statute" on its creation the Baltic Assembly adopted 10 other documents. I think that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's readers will be most interested in two of them. The first is an Appeal to the General Secretary of the North Atlantic Assembly and the NATO countries, the crux of which is that the Baltic Assembly calls for preconditions to be formulated, "whose implementation would make it possible to begin the stage-by-stage inclusion of interested states in NATO structures."

The other important document adopted by the Baltic Assembly was a resolution, once again underlining the unsatisfactory situation with regard to the Russian troop withdrawal from Latvia and Estonia. The document points out that, given the political will, the Russian Army could be withdrawn from the Baltic states in two months. Interestingly, the question of a visit by Estonian President Lennart Meri to Russia, during which a Fundamental Treaty on the Dates and Procedure for the Russian Troop Withdrawal could be signed, was discussed intensively in the lobbies at the Baltic Assembly. It was pointed out that this visit could occur before Russia's State Duma elections.

The Baltic Assembly backed the suggestions from Latvia's Gunars Meierovics, minister for Baltic states and Nordic countries affairs, that a Baltic Information Bureau be set up in Moscow.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 5 Nov

LD0511071793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0606 GMT 5 Nov 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 5 ITAR-TASS—Newspapers highlight today the ceremony of the sanctification of the cathedral of the icon of Saint Virgin of Kazan, built anew in the Red Square. President Boris Yeltsin, who attended the ceremony, said that the sacred things of the Orthodox Church, confiscated during the revolution—the icon of the Saint Virgin of Vladimir and the trinity icon by Andrey Rublev—would be returned to the church.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI carries an article by Yegor Gaydar, entitled "There is Some Hope for Stable Work Next Year." Analysing the financial and economic policy of the government, he writes: "After January 1, 1994, we shall have more room for manoeuvering in the sphere of financial policy. We have received resources of the Central Bank, which makes it possible to control the situation in a more or less reliable way in the fourth quarter and gives some hope for stable work in 1994."

The newspaper publishes another article entitled "Will Russia Have State Council?" which calls attention to the disarray in the country's legal setup. "If this authority is to be created, it should be provided with guarantees of effective and independent work (taking into account the grim experience of the disintegration of the Constitutional Court). Otherwise a legal act on the state council, in case it is adopted, will become a 'dry branch on the tree of the Russian constitutional system'."

TRUD carries an analytical article by political observer Vitaliy Golovachev, entitled "We Are Becoming More Capitalist Than Capitalists Themselves." The article evaluates the current economic situation in the country and the living standards of the population, calling attention to sharp contrasts in that sphere and to the falling-off of production, which has reached a critical level. "The thoughtless raising of wages, disregarding the results of work, the rate of inflation and the economic situation in the country, may only lead to greater disbalance in the economic mechanism," the newspaper stresses.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA raises the problem of the creation of civic society in Russia. The newspaper writes: "We need a movement which could mobilise and use for good purposes the energy of those millions of people, who are fed up with politics. It should not seek financing from the state budget, should not become another 'fund' to create more jobs for bureaucrats. It should be a movement relying on the initiative of citizens, on local government bodies, on Russian patriots and the assistance of the mass media."

PRAVDA publishes an interview with Larisa Dementieva, member of the Russian Supreme Court, in which she explains the reasons for her resignation. "As a judge, as a lawyer, I do not want to take part in the establishment of lawlessness, of the dictatorship of executive power," she said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an article about the problems facing servicemen of the Moscow garrison, who have no apartments. Despite numerous executive orders and decrees of the president, the Moscow authorities still owe a large number of flats to the military. "The harmful practices, when the fulfilment of decrees of the president and of government resolutions meets with active counteraction on the part of heads of local government bodies, should be stopped," the newspaper writes.

Ukraine Criticized for 'Ambivalence' on Nuclear Weapons

LD0411230693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 4 Nov 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Commenting on a recent statement by Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk, a senior Russian Foreign Ministry official and expert on Russo-Ukrainian ties, has said that it is totally unfair from the legal point of view to demand that Russia compensate Ukraine for the nuclear fuel, contained in the warheads of the battle-field missiles moved out of Ukrainian territory. "Since battle-field nuclear missiles were withdrawn from Ukraine in May last year, the issue can be regarded as settled," he said.

As for strategic nuclear weapons, he added, they should be moved out of Ukraine without any linkage, too. "This transpires from Ukraine's international commitments on the Lisbon Protocol and the Russo-Ukrainian documents signed by Yeltsin and Kravchuk in Massandra," he said.

The diplomat described as "ambivalence" the position of Ukraine, "which goes back on its pledges on the one hand, and on the other, accuses Russia of attempts to control nuclear weaponry and thereby cause something more disastrous than Chernobyl."

In his opinion, it is unlikely that Ukraine will reconsider its stand and will give up its nuclear-free status. "The potential of Soviet nuclear scientists who worked in Ukraine is enough for the republic to create nuclear weapons of its own. Technically feasible, such a design would be ruinous for Ukraine's economy. Kiev cannot ignore this," the diplomat concluded.

Chernomyrdin, Danish Premier Discuss Relations

LD0411235493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1733 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Copenhagen November 4 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin met with his Danish counterpart Poul Nyrup Rasmussen in Copenhagen on Thursday [4 November] to discuss Russian-Danish relations.

Chernomyrdin, who is on an official visit in Denmark, and Rasmussen focused on urgent international problems, including the development of the European process, the strengthening of the role of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, human rights, the rights of ethnic minorities and development of regional and bilateral economic cooperation between Russia and Denmark.

Chernomyrdin conveyed to Rasmussen congratulations from President Boris Yeltsin on the 500th anniversary of the first Russian-Danish treaty and confirmed that the Russian leader is determined to return to the question of his visit to denmark. Chernomyrdin invited Rasmussen to pay an official visit to Russia.

The Russian premier stressed that Russia is interested in Denmark's help in establishing new industries, supporting conversion of the defence industry, solving ecological problems and developing a transport infrastructure in Russia. He also called for the expansion of Danish private investments in the Russian economy.

Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD0511100293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1815 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Copenhagen, 4 Nov—Russian Council of Ministers Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin, who is here on an official visit, and Danish Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen signed today a declaration on the fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and the Kingdom of Denmark, "Five Hundred More Years of Friendship and Peace". Such a name is profoundly symbolic because the 500th anniversary of establishing friendly and treaty-based relations between the two countries will be marked in the next few days. In 1493 Ivan III, great prince of Moscow, and Danish King Hans signed the treaty "On Love and Friendship."

The declaration mentioned that Russia and Denmark "will maintain relations of peace and friendship based on good-neighborliness and partnership" and "build their relations in accordance with the principles of international law." The sides undertake "to strengthen cooperation both on a bilateral basis and within multilateral framework in order to find political solutions to international problems and the protection of human rights," "closely and conscientiously cooperate in strengthening the role of the United Nations and the CSCE with a view of enhancing these organizations' capacity to respond effectively to threats to international peace and security and to situations brought about by aggressive nationalism and xenophobia."

Russia and Denmark, the document says, will expand cooperation with a view to strengthen international security, reduce armed forces to a minimum level corresponding to legitimate security requirements, carry out efficient and checkable control of armaments and build up confidence, security and openness in the military sphere within the CSCE framework and on a world scale.

The declaration notes that Russia and Denmark will promote multilateral cooperation in the world and on the European continent "regarding this cooperation as the best way to achieve security, stability, respect for human rights and social and economic progress." "The sides expect that the European Council's proposal put forward in Copenhagen in June 1993 on regular meetings for top level political dialogue between the Russian

Federation and the European Community be implemented, the document stresses. Recognizing the importance of the Russian Federation's full integration with the world economic system, they agree to cooperate in the IMF, IBRD as well as other international financial, trade, and economic establishments in order to advance this process."

The sides confirmed their determination to encourage bilateral trade and investment, economic, technological, and scientific cooperation as well as cooperation in environment protection.

The heads of governments of the two countries signed an agreement on encouraging and reciprocally protecting capital investments. According to the document, the sides will promote Danish and Russian capital investments on their territories alongside their own investments and will create favorable conditions for them. "The capital investments made by one of the contracting parties will be guaranteed full security and protection on the territory of the other contracting party," the agreement says.

Chernomyrdin Visits Jutland

LD0511110193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1032 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Copenhagen November 5 TASS—Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin began the second day of his official visit to Denmark with a visit to the country's mainland part—Jutland. He visited today several enterprises, where he was shown some most up-to-date power-consuming technologies, developed by Danish specialists. He discussed some practical matters linked with the expansion of Russo-Danish economic cooperation not only on the inter-state basis, but at the level of individual enterprises, too.

The Russian premier is expected to be received by Queen Margrethe II today afternoon. Later in the day Chernomyrdin will attend the opening of an archive exhibition, devoted to the 500th anniversary of bilateral treaty relations between Russia and Denmark. He will also meet representatives of Danish business circles.

Status of Lockerbie Case Viewed, Russian Position Cited

PM0411155393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Nov 93 First Edition p 7

[Report by Igopr Kazakov. "Sanctions Against Libya: Moscow's Dissenting Voice"]

[Text] The proposal by the United States, France, and Britain that the UN Security Council adopt a resolution stipulating tougher sanctions against Libya in view of the failure to settle the "Lockerbie case" has not met with Russia's unconditional support. A draft resolution already exists and is now under discussion. "During the preparation of the draft we have upheld our interests, including financial ones," one Russian diplomat said in conversation with your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent. Washington, Paris, and London are proposing a ban on Libyan oil exports and the seizure of all Libyan deposits in foreign banks, but Russia would like to resolve the problem of Libya's multibillion debt and step up trade cooperation with the old partner.

The "Lockerbie case" arose in 1988, when a U.S. passenger aircraft blew up over the Scottish town of Lockerbie, killing 270 people. The United States, France, and Britain are accusing two Libyans of blowing up the aircraft and are demanding their immediate extradition. The conflict is forever abating and then flaring up again, and Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi recently demanded the immediate removal of Butrus Butrus-Ghali from the post of UN secretary general, since Butrus-Ghali has been unable to offer his own version of a settlement of the conflict between Libya and the West.

At the same time, following a comprehensive investigation those suspected of causing the explosion have agreed to appear in court, despite their right in accordance with national and international laws to remain in Libya, but the lawyers of the accused are expressing alarm over the possible adverse impact of the premature media trial organized in the United States and Scotland on those who will pass final judgment in the "Lockerbie case." Lawyers also note that the prosecutor's refusal to submit evidence of the guilt of those suspected of causing the explosion consequently prevents them preparing a proper defense.

The lawyers representing the suspects' interests believe that normal international juridical practice indicates that they should not be in contact with any third parties concerning the conduct of the case, except through their legal advisers, particularly as the judicial authorities in the United States and Britain have issued an order for the arrest of the accused. The lawyers also took exception to a statement by the Libyan Government agreeing to receive a group of Scottish lawyers for the purpose of studying the circumstances of the case.

The suspects' lawyers stress that they are primarily defending the accused, not Libya. Their moral and professional duty dictates that any advice to the defendants will envisage protection of their personal interests.

The lawyers intend to contact the British and French foreign policy departments in the very near future to discuss possible ways of resolving the crisis.

Adherence to Sanctions Confirmed

LD0511152693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1323 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] A spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry dismissed Western media reports which interpret the Russian position on sanctions against Libya "as something amounting to giving up the fight against terrorism."

At a briefing in Moscow Mikhail Demurin said that his country's position on terrorism was unambiguous, "no let up in fighting that evil. Following the October rebellion Russia knows that probably better than anyone else."

"The sanctions against Libya will remain in force, in full compliance with UN Security Council resolution, until those suspected of bombing the Boeing 747 over the Scottish town of Lockerbie face trial," Demurin said.

Syrian Parliamentarians Ask Yeltsin To Release Khasbulatov

PM0411125993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 7

[Vladimir Belyakov report: "Dangerous Precedent"]

[Text] Cairo, 2 November—A group of deputies from the Syrian People's Assembly have sent a letter to Russian President Boris Yeltsin calling on him to immediately release from arrest Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and other imprisoned parliamentarians.

The letter notes that the storming of the parliament building was a dangerous precedent, a "violation of the basic principles of democracy and human rights." The letter was signed by around 30 deputies from all political parties, including the ruling Ba'th Party.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Says Talks Cannot 'Invigorate' Ties

LD0511115193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] The state delegations to Lithuania-Russia talks cannot invigorate bilateral relations, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said at a news conference in Moscow. The Lithuanian leader believes the delegations consist of people not empowered to take decisions and bear responsibility. He said this topic was touched upon during his meeting with Boris Yeltsin, and both presidents agreed more flexible structures should be found for a mechanism of negotiations.

Comments on Troop Withdrawal

LD0411170593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1211 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 4 Nov—[passage omitted] Algirdas Brazauskas noted that his arrival in Moscow opened up a new stage in the relations between the Baltic countries and Russia and added that the presidents of Latvia and Estonia, whom he meets frequently, "would like to improve relations with Russia."

Touching on the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Lithuania which has been completed, the president stated: "It is very nice when a large state, such as Russia, fulfills its duty towards a small state, such as Lithuania. It happened in a very correct and tactful manner with no detriment to the good relations with the Russian Defense Ministry and the units remaining in Kaliningrad Oblast."

Replying to a question of the possibility of Lithuania joining NATO, Brazauskas said that "the issue has lately become very topical in central and eastern Europe and Lithuania is among states seeking the best variant of collective security not just in their own region, but in Europe as a whole."

Talks on Abkhaz Settlement Held at Foreign Ministry

LD0511092093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Russian-Abkhazian consultations on the problem of a settlement in Abkhazia have been held at the Russian Foreign Ministry. The Russian side reaffirmed its position whereby responsibility for the breakdown of the Sochi cease-fire agreement lies with the Abkhazian leadership. A Russian spokesman called for the resumption of a dialogue between the conflicting sides with UN and Russian mediation and for a return to the fulfillment of the basic points of the Sochi accords. It was stressed that an immediate end to the persecution of the civilian population and violations of human rights, a rejection of the policy of ethnic cleansing, and the setting up of real guarantees of safety for the return of refugees to Abkhazia are of particular importance. Progress along this path would enable the Russian side gradually to lift the trade and economic sanctions against Abkhazia, the spokesman said.

UN Special Envoy Arrives in Moscow for Talks on Georgia

LD0511123793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1206 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By Georgiy Shmelev, ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Nov—Edouard Brunner, the UN secretary general's special envoy, will hold working consultations in Moscow on a settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. He arrived in the Russian capital today after consultations with representatives of the parties to the conflict.

A meeting with Boris Pastukhov, Russian deputy foreign minister, has been planned for today.

Georgia Military Developments, Russian Forces' Role Eyed

PM0411162193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Vitaliy Alekseyev, Sergey Prokopenko, and Vladimir Pasyakin: "Men of Group of Russian Forces in Transcaucasus Observe Neutrality Between Two Fires in West Georgia"]

[Text] Official sources in Georgia have reported that government troops have succeeded in regaining control of Senaki as a result of bitter fighting with ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters and that additional subunits are being brought in. It is necessary to point out that this city plays a considerable role in the events unfolding in west Georgia since it is a major transport (and in particular railroad) junction on the republic's main line linking the port of Poti [illegible] capital and other regions.

In connection with the worsening situation in west Georgia, head of state Eduard Shevardnadze has arrived here and has held a session of the operations staff in Abasha. The situation in the region was discussed. Commenting on its results, Eduard Shevardnadze expressed confidence that the "Zviadist" detachments will be defeated, attributing this to the fact that government troops are in better positions. According to editorial office information, there had been no substantial change in the situation by the time this article was being prepared. Government troops are seen to be massing in the Khobi sector.

The position occupied by the Russian troop subunits in the conflict zone must be deemed a rather delicate one. Thus, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, now in Zugdidi, has been heard leveling at Russian troops the endearingly "novel" accusation of allegedly taking part in the conflict. Of course, paradoxical as it may seem, their embroilment in the combat operations plays into the hands of both sides.

However—and this must be particularly emphasized—the men of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus [GRFT], who are guarding the bridges and tunnels along the whole of the Poti-Tbilisi railroad, are maintaining strict neutrality. This in particular has been repeatedly stated by spokesmen of both the Russian Foreign Ministry and the GRFT command. Although orders have been given for them to open fire in the event of an attack on the installations under guard or on Russian servicemen. There have been no attacks on the posts in the last few days, but on 1 November in the city of Mtskheta, armed criminals in military uniform raided the apartment of a serviceman from one Russian unit. They tortured the officer, demanded money, and then killed him. His wife has been taken to the hospital.

In these conditions it is of course hard to maintain calm and neutrality.

We have learned that a detachment of mixed forces comprising three large and one medium amphibious warfare ship (the BDK-69, the Tsezar Kunikov, the Konstantin Olshanskiy, and the SDK-82; two patrol escorts, the Razitelnyy and the Pytlivyy; the MPK-127 small ASW ship; the Zenitchik ocean minesweeper; the Sventa tanker, and a seagoing tug) under the flag of Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, set off for Georgian shores 2 November in order to ensure the safety of the port of Poti. There is a reinforced naval infantry battalion aboard the amphibious warfare ships.

PRAVDA Views Plight of Transcaucasus Peoples

PM0411141793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 93 p 2

[Nikolay Kozhanov report: "Transcaucasus Tragedy"]

[Text] A great deal has changed in the country and in the world in the month of our newspaper's absence, but in the tragic conflicts which continue to pour blood on the "sun-kissed republics" of the Transcaucasus we can, alas, spot the very same crushing hopelessness.

Maybe the only glimmer of hope is that great Russia has finally lifted the shameful blockade against tiny Abkhazia, punished in point of fact for striving to rid itself of occupiers who had ransacked it, and it was punishment indeed—the power supplies were cut. (A method which is familiar to us from the recent Moscow events. The only good thing is that they did not send in the tanks as an afterthought.) The blockade has been lifted, but it is hard even to imagine the kind of highly complex problems of survival which this utterly destroyed and devastated country will have to resolve.

Meanwhile in Georgia, still in a state of shock after the crippling Sukhumi massacre, the two rival clans of Shevardnadze the "peacemaker" and ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia have dug their heels in fast, as if venting disgust over the defeat on each other. Poti, Senaki, Lanchkhuti, Zugdidi, Tskhaltubo... Attack and counterattack. Mengrelia is aflame, cities are switching from hand to hand, world-famous vacation resorts are being destroyed, while the defenseless population perishes beneath volleys from Grad multiple missile launchers and finds itself being thoroughly cleaned out by marauders. (Well, what can you expect of motley military formations commanded by the former "godfather"?) And Russian servicemen too bear the brunt in the heat of the moment, having generously furbished the Georgian Army (on instructions from above, of course) with combat hardware. A border post is bombed "by mistake," or military storehouses are pillaged and Russian soldiers murdered "as a result of a misunderstanding."

Again—as always in hopeless situations!—the Georgian leadership is appealing for help to Russia, to its Army, only yesterday reviled and cursed in every fashion, asking to be placed under "the protection of friendly bayonets." And indeed, Russia's armored hardware, having warded off the Zviadists, has assumed control over western Georgia's vital infrastructure. Shevardnadze hastily declared entry to the CIS, and the majority in parliament supported him, although another Georgian leader, Nodar Notadze, is threatening to send all deputies agreeing to join the CIS to the gallows.

Blood is flowing liberally in eastern regions of the Transcaucasus too, where the flames of what is, from the outside, a senseless Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict are burning as fiercely as ever. Neither the change of leadership in Baku, nor efforts by Russian intermediaries in achieving yet another short-lived armistice, nor shuttle visits by international peacekeeping missions have had any effect on it. The plot is always the same: No sooner has agreement been reached about an armistice than someone (and each side refers to the other) breaches it, and this is promptly followed by a "resolute counteroffensive" deep inside Azerbaijani lands by the "Karabakh self-defense forces." Thousands of Azerbaijani refugees seek refuge on Iranian territory. Baku awaits help from the CIS, which Azerbaijan was also quick to join with the accession to power of Geydar Aliyev, and appeals go out to neighboring Islamic countries. The latter issue heartfelt appeals to Armenia. Meanwhile blood flows, houses burn, and refugees, as in Georgia, wander aimlessly and despairingly along the cold mountain tracks...

Do you not sometimes think that this is all a bad dream? You know, I myself have been to the Caucasus on many occasions, and I have witnessed how all these people now hating and murdering one another used to live together in Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia. They worked together, drank toasts on special occasions, raised families, and on the occasions when there were mutual "frictions" they rarely went further than an anecdote of some kind about a certain judge and jury having admitted that Armenian cognac might be the best in the world but Azerbaijani cognac was the best in the Caucasus. Yet here it is: blood, fire, starvation, refugees...

Wise political experts seek profound reasons for this, pondering the eternal Islamic-Christian debate, the clash of interests of intercontinental oil monopolies, but before my very eyes I can see Elchibey speaking to the roars of a crowd of thousands in a Baku square. Or Zviad in Tbilisi, throwing slogans like "Georgia for the Georgians!," and "Down with the Russian Occupiers!" at the fevered masses. And I am reminded of the young woman captured on the television screen speaking deliriously to a reporter about how Georgia was so lucky to have Zviad Gamsakhurdia and how, if necessary, she, a mother, would at any moment lay down the lives of her two young daughters for its sake...

So it seems that there is obviously still some truth to the old adage: A politician's ambition is paid for with the blood of duped peoples.

'Embellished' Information from Azerbaijan, Armenia Deplored

PM0411170193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 3

[Vladimir Berezko report: "Rigged 'Game,' Or Why Information From Armenian and Azerbaijani Governments Is So Contradictory..."]

[Text] It all started with a report citing Azerbaijani sources that Karabakh Army subunits had infiltrated Azerbaijan's Beylaganskiy Rayon.

M. Kazaryan, head of the apparatus of Armenia's permanent mission, said that this is not true, and the Karabakh deputy foreign minister officially denied this report, saying that no combat operations are being conducted in Beylaganskiy Rayon and there are no Karabakh Army self-defense forces there. What is more, M. Kazaryan said that the situation in the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict zone is becoming relatively stable. Although, admittedly, an incident did occur a few days ago because of the Azerbaijani side's breach of the cease-fire agreement through 5 November.

Press Attache F. Gadzhiyev at the Azerbaijani permanent mission said that Karabakh troops had entered the rayon, but they could not go far and were rebuffed by the Azerbaijani Armed Forces. Several thousand refugees have appeared, whom it is planned to "look after." "Wherever Armenian troops go," the press attache said, "the Azerbaijani population is expelled."

It is easy to see that the missions' reports are diametrically opposed. Those who avoid giving an accurate account and objective assessment of the facts evidently do not pause to think that "embellished" and metered information may cause a further escalation in the conflict.

Commander on Pullout of Troops From Tajik-Afghan Border

LD0411162493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Interview with A. Chechulin, commander of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The simultaneous discharge of two sets of conscripts serving on the Tajik-Afghan border has begun. Does this make things difficult for you?

[Chechulin] Of course it makes things difficult. Imagine the situation for yourself. Within a month we have to transfer almost 4,000 men from the trenches back to their homes. Furthermore, the entire transfer will have to be carried out by air. Because of the combat situation and capricious weather, this is not easy. That is probably the reason why military transport planes of the Russian Armed Forces, which do not normally take part in personnel transfer operations, have been brought in to help.

[Correspondent] Do the people on the Afghan side know about this demobilization?

[Chechulin] They know. What's more, they are hoping to escalate their activities during this period, but we ourselves know about this, and take it into account.

[Correspondent] Won't large-scale discharges of men from the border posts affect defense capability? Won't this create holes in the border?

[Chechulin] I can assure you that there will be no holes whatsoever, because everything has been worked out and forecast. Organizational cover has been arranged. First, a contingent of coalition peacekeeping forces has taken up positions at the border. Second, an unscheduled early call-up of conscripts has been held. Third, the border is now sealed by complex technical devices and special equipment, as well as by the men we have on duty there. So, there are no grounds for hoping that the border defenses will be relaxed.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Mediation in Tajikistan

MK0411111193 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 4

[Oleg Medvedev report on interview with Anatoliy Adamishin, Russian Federation first deputy foreign minister and personal envoy of the Russian president, under the "Situation in Tajikistan" rubric: "Russia Plays a Stabilizing Role in Central Asia"; place and date not given]

[Text] A press conference will be held today at the Tajik mission in Moscow. It will focus on a new draft Tajik constitution, which has been designed by its authors to bring civil peace to Tajikistan. So far, however, the situation in that country is far from stable, which, for entirely understandable reasons, cannot but concern the Russian authorities. The other day, Anatoliy Adamishin, Russian Federation first deputy foreign minister and the Russian president's personal envoy, visited Tajikistan. He talks about the results of his trip with KOMMERSANT-DAILY observer Oleg Medvedev.

What may amount to a nearly central provision of the August statement on Tajikistan by the presidents of the Central Asian states and Russia is the need for a political dialogue between the Tajik government and the opposition. This is the question with which my conversation with Mr. Adamishin began.

In the deputy foreign minister's view, efforts to start dialogue are "clearly skidding," albeit for objective reasons. "Civil war, the brutal bloodbath in which thousands of Tajiks have died, has left deep scars. Not enough time has passed for the former enemies to be able to reach agreement," the Russian diplomat believes, but since there is no other way of settling the Tajik conflict but an agreement among the Tajiks, the subject of national reconciliation was central in Anatoliy Adamishin's talks with Dushanbe leaders.

"The current government has done something to stabilize the situation: several tens of thousands of refugees have returned home from Afghanistan; Dushanbe is conducting dialogue with some field commanders and maintains contacts with members of the opposition who stay in Moscow. As for national reconciliation, however, it requires more serious steps, toward which I was actually pushing Dushanbe at the request of the Russian leadership," Mr. Adamishin said. In his view, the Tajik leaders showed understanding with regard to the "need to conduct a serious dialogue." The Russian president's envoy expressed his hope that those who bet on military methods would not gain the upper hand in Dushanbe.

The opposition is also responsible for the sluggish political dialogue, because its leaders, according to Mr. Adamishin, have not abandoned their plans to topple the government by force. Furthermore, they say that they "do not want to talk with those who are manipulated by the Russians, but will talk directly with the Russians." Mr. Adamishin sees these demands as groundless: "Russia is not the master of the situation in Tajikistan. Otherwise, a dialogue would have been under way already."

Anatoliy Adamishin pointed to "some disagreements" inside the current Tajikistan authorities that should be eliminated. It is also essential for the authorities to create a solid political and social support base, to achieve a balance among regions, and to conduct dialogue with the opposition on this basis, to help refugees return home, to adopt a constitution, and to conduct elections. The country needs to resolve political issues as soon as possible in order to focus on the economy, which is in a disastrous state. They need to forge contacts with their neighbors. "The thing is that all transportation lines and gas pipelines pass through Uzbekistan, and I have received reports that they have been cut time and again one way or another," Mr. Adamishin said, thus acknowledging that tensions exist between Tajikistan and its neighbors, particularly Uzbekistan.

In Mr. Adamishin view, significant difficulties that have blocked the path of settlement in Tajikistan diminish the confidence that Russia and CIS in general would hold on to their positions in this country. Nonetheless, the diplomat is certain that by deciding not to leave Tajikistan the Russian authorities have made the right strategic choice.

"We have cultivated this country for many decades, if not centuries," Adamishin emphasized. "Civilization came to Tajikistan from the west, from Russia. Up to the present, countries surrounding Tajikistan stand several steps lower in their evolution. Most Tajiks do not want Russia to go. Russia plays a stabilizing role there. Once we leave Central Asia, it will turn into a continually bubbling cauldron that will boil right next to our own borders—next to the Volga, if you wish."

The Russian presence in the region should be not so much military or "politically dictatorial," Anatoliy Adamishin believes, but rather economic, cultural, and spiritual, a presence that will bring us closer together.

No Unification of Monetary System With Kazakhstan

PM0511115193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Ivan Zhagel report under the general heading "In the Ruble, Karbovanets, and Manat Zones": "Unification of Russian and Kazakhstani Monetary Systems Fails To Go Ahead"]

[Text] Following the 3 November meeting between the Russian and Kazakhstani premiers it has been officially announced that no rapid unification of the two republics' monetary systems is planned and Kazakhstan will be introducing its own national currency.

That evening Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin held a press conference at which he announced that, in accordance with the protocols signed by the government heads, Russia would be giving Kazakhstan technical assistance in introducing its national currency and would also be allocating a 10-billion [currency unspecified] loan for this purpose. Incidentally, this is not some kind of additional material assistance. The money will be taken from the state loan which Russia had planned to make this year.

Despite the division between the two republics' currencies, A. Shokhin nonetheless tried to persuade the journalists that the ultimate aim is still to unify their monetary economies. But this will happen after the creation of joint mechanisms or organs whose operations will lead to the equalization of 15-16 economic indicators in the two countries.

Well, we can agree with A. Shokhin that the immediate unification of the two monetary systems would have been bad for Russia, given the differences that have recently emerged in the CIS countries. But it is somehow hard to believe that in the course of a few months it will be possible to coordinate credit and monetary policy, say, in even two countries, given that this will depend on the processes of privatization, the restructuring of industry, land reform, and social policy. Moreover, all of this will be influenced by political processes. So economic stabilization in the former Union republics and the equalization of their main indicators will most probably take years rather than months. This means that we can say good-bye for the time being to the idea of a unified ruble.

In fact even A. Shokhin admitted that the main thing today is to create not a common monetary area but an effective payments union wherein the ruble—given that the balance of trade is in Russia's favor—would act as reserve currency.

Incidentally, Central Bank of Russia Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko also held a press conference 3 November. Touching on the question of dividing up the single monetary area, he asked leave to answer "both as a specialist and as a citizen." So then, from the specialist's standpoint, V. Gerashchenko believes that Russia will find it easier to implement reform with its own currency. But as a citizen he considers that everything that is happening to the ruble is a shortsighted policy that is losing what has been gained.

The predictions that Russia will find things easier with its own ruble are generally proving to be true. And Kazakhstan's decision to introduce its own currency had no impact on the Russian exchanges nor on the commodity market. On the other hand, our correspondent V. Ardayev reports that the dollar leapt sharply at commercial banks on average from 3,000 rubles [R] to R3,700 and even R4,000 on the "black market." A number of banks are refusing to accept large amounts of cash, and many commercial structures are now almost universally requiring noncash payment for their goods and services. Rumors are spreading fast that the currency replacement will happen any day now. This panic among businessmen has also been influenced by the fact that the Central Bank of Russia has changed the rate quoted for the Russian ruble against the Kazakhstani settlement ruble—the rate will now be 10:5 instead of 10:6.7.

German Defense Minister Says NATO Open to Russia

LD0411122493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1143 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo November 4 TASS—"NATO is not a closed club, we are completely open to all countries, including Russia," Volker Ruehe, minister of defence of the Federal Republic of Germany told ITAR-TASS at a news conference in Tokyo on Thursday [4 November].

He stressed it is "strategic policy nato will pursue in the future as well."

At the same time, the minister who is staying in Japan on an official visit, noted that "at the moment the joining of NATO by other countries seems unreasonable."

"We think it promising that agreements be concluded by NATO countries with those states from Eastern Europe and the CIS, which intend to develop their ties with NATO on specific types of cooperation, in particular, in the implementation of United Nations peace-keeping operations. Thus, relations of genuine partnership between us and Russia, other countries from the former Warsaw treaty can be built," he said.

Asked by ITAR-TASS to estimate the situation in Europe, Volker Ruehe expressed his opinion that "no specific threat to the security of the region's countries exists today." The minister said the elimination of the confrontation structure between the east and the west, termination of the arms race exhaustive for all are "the decisive factors for the stability" in Europe.

"Our 'export' of stability to Russia and other CIS countries is now on the agenda. We should contribute to stabilisation in Russia in the field of politics, and in the military sphere," noted the minister.

The minister of defence positively assessed the content of the new Russian military doctrine, adopted by the Security Council on November 2. Hinting that some in the west are critical of a number of provisions from the document, Volker Ruehe said the "new doctrine positively differs from the one the military policy of the former USSR was based on."

The German defence minister urged all interested countries to cooperate in the solving of the arms export problem.

Volker Ruehe confirmed that Germany with other western countries intends to render financial and technological assistance to Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan in the implementation of their programmes of dismantling nuclear armaments.

Country's Importance in Europe Viewed

PM0411140193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Nov 93 First Edition p 7

[Report by Vladimir Tenin under the general heading: "Paris-Moscow: New Role in Europe"]

[Text] French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur was in Russia on 1 and 2 November on an official visit.

This year's centennial of the 1891-1893 Russian-French military-political alliance makes it a particularly significant visit. Not for nothing did news agencies announce on the eve of the visit, citing sources close to the premier, that E. Balladur was hoping to "reestablish a dialogue with Moscow that will correspond to the importance Russia plays in Europe."

Pride of place goes to the political content of the visit, made by the French leadership at what is a difficult time for Russians in order to see that the reforms are continuing and to express Paris' support for democratic processes in Russia.

The French premier presented in the Kremlin new proposals on safeguarding stability and security on the European continent, aimed at preventing conflicts like that in Yugoslavia.

The French authorities' generally friendly and constructive stance on Russian problems has already been manifested in the two French-Russian agreements on assistance in dismantling Russian nuclear weapons, which envisage Paris' allocating Fr400 million for this purpose in 1993-1996 and which were concluded not long before the official visit.

French Premier Promises 'Phased Appraoch' to Imports

PM0411152193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksey Portanskiy report: "Edouard Balladur: French Aid to Russia Exceeded $5 Billion Over Three Years"]

[Text] France has made a significant positive contribution to resolving the issue of deferring the former USSR's debt repayments within the framework of the Paris Club, French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur announced during a press conference following his meetings with President Yeltsin and other Russian leaders.

Let me remind readers that the decision made by the Paris Club in April to restructure the former Union's debts was the most important step the West has taken so far in displaying real support for the Russian reforms.

Since 1990 French aid to Russia through all channels has totaled approximately $5.5 billion, Edouard Balladur announced. As a result of talks with the Russian leadership, it has been decided that France will allocate approximately $70 million for dismantling Russian nuclear weapons that are due to be scrapped. With regard to bilateral cooperation, which takes in a multitude of different programs, the prime minister's opinion was that this should be regarded as a model.

It is well known that improvements in the Russian economy will depend to a considerable extent on the establishment of equal economic cooperation relations with Western countries, which presupposes fair access by our exporters to European and world markets. What does the French premier think about this?

"I accept Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's wish for Europe to grant wide-ranging access for Russian products," Edouard Balladur said, replying to a question from IZVESTIYA. "Russia is not the only country to express such a desire; a number of Central European states that have embarked on reform of their societies are asking for the same thing. I fully realize that these reforms would be better-grounded and Russia's integration into the world community would be all the more secure if it were allowed to import and export its goods freely.

"At the same time, however, we must avoid destabilizing international markets, bearing in mind the competitive pressure that many types of Russian products would produce in Europe," E. Balladur continued. "A gradual, phased approach to the emergence of Russian goods on European markets is therefore called for. During our talks we agreed to continue discussing these problems, and specifically to reach agreement on specific figures for export levels of Russian aluminum, which, as you know, directly affects French interests."

E. Balladur refrained from passing judgment on the internal politics and nature of establishing a balance of power in Russia. There were no standard rules in this area. The premier reminded his listeners of the negative reception given in France to the Constitution of the Fifth Republic, formulated by General de Gaulle back in 1958, which, it was considered, did not conform very much to the canons of parliamentary democracy. However, hardly anyone would venture to suggest that, as a result of this, France is now less democratic than other states.

The French prime minister left for home on the evening of 2 November.

Building of German-Funded Servicemen's Settlement Begins

PM0411171593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 1

[Nikolay Astashkin report: "Samsung: Our Apartments Are No Worse Than Our Videos"]

[Text] Construction of a settlement for servicemen withdrawn from the Western Group of Forces has been begun on the outskirts of the village of Oktyabrskiy near Volgograd by Samsung Engineering and Construction Ltd, the large South Korean firm. Around 122 million German marks have been earmarked for the project, which is being financed by the German Federal Government.

By the middle of next year it is planned to hand over 1,322 apartments and social, cultural, and domestic buildings—a school, two kindergartens, an everyday services center, a sports center, three stores, a supermarket, a cafe, a 2,048-line telephone exchange, and a television and radio relay tower.

Prague Conference Discusses Czech-Russian Trade

PM0411170793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 93 p 3

[Own correspondent Zdenek Gorzheni report: "Businesslike Conversation"]

[Text] Prague, 1 November—Over 100 Russian business representatives have met with Czech entrepreneurs in Prague at a two-day conference organized by Russia's embassy and trade mission under the slogan: Trade, Investment, Business Contacts.

The trade between Russia and the Czech Republic has declined markedly and currently stands at around $2 billion. Prague attributes this drop in trade to the collapse of the market of former Warsaw Pact countries. Moscow sees the chief causes in the new foreign policy orientation of East European countries and Russia.

Nevertheless, the business representatives from Russia and the Czech Republic examined the question in a businesslike manner at the conference. The focus was on what can be done, on what to purchase, sell, and barter today and tomorrow, thereby developing the economic links between the two countries established during the socialist era.

IBRD Prepared To Grant Russia $2-3 Billion Credit

LD0411181493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1259 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—Oleg Soskovets, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, received Russell Cheetham, director of the Europe and Middle Asia Department of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) in Moscow today.

The IBRD is prepared to grant Russia a two to three billion U.S. dollar credit in the near future, Russell Cheetham said. These funds will be invested mainly in Russia's fuel and power complex, the director of the IBRD department noted. Together with other Western investors' credits, this sum may amount to four billion U.S. dollars. Russell Cheetham believes that this may become an important signal for other Western investors.

The IBRD representative showed a particular interest in cooperation with the Russian side in the field of oil and gas industry. According to him, the International Bank For reconstruction and development Is already now prepared to finance a number of projects, including oil transportation, the construction of a pipeline and terminals, as well as modernization of some Russian oil refineries.

Russian first deputy premier displayed interest of the government in using foreign credits, first of all in favor of Russian commodity producers. Oleg Soskovets expressed concern that, on the one hand, restructuring of branches of the Russian industry is taking place, but, on the other hand, banks do not ensure mutual payments among enterprises. "We cannot reconcile ourselves to Russia remaining a country selling only raw materials and unable to produce anything more," the first deputy prime minister of Russia stressed.

Finnish Nuclear Waste at Ural's Processing Plant

LD0411133693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1107 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] INTERFAX has been informed that a train carrying containers with 25 tons of waste from the nuclear power station in the Finnish town of Loviisa crossed the border into Russia in early hours of Thursday. The cargo will go on to Chelyabinsk-65 in the Urals to be processed in the Mayak chemical works there.

Officials in Russia's State Nuclear Supervision Committee's press service told INTERFAX that the Committee had authorized the operation, which is in line with an agreement with Finland. They said that the station had been built in Soviet times by a Soviet design and with the aid of Soviet engineers. The agreement on processing the nuclear waste from the station was signed then and wastes had been arriving from Loviisa since 1984.

The officials made it clear that the existing Russian legislation has not been broken because it allows chemical processing, albeit not storage, of radioactive wastes from other countries.

Official Says Money Needed To Dispose of Nuclear Waste

OW0411132693 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 28 Oct 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] The decision, adopted by central authority, to permanently stop sea dumping of liquid low-level radioactive waste may have unpredictable consequences for the Russian Pacific coast, said Yevgeniy Nazdratenko, head of Maritime Kray Administration. He stated that Pacific Fleet cargo vessels and nuclear submarines filled with such waste were docked today at various wharfs in the region. Nazdratenko believes that if urgent measures are not taken, an ecological catastrophe effecting all of the Far East could break out in the nearest future. The head of the Maritime Kray administration stressed: Undoubtedly, disposing of such waste in the Sea of Japan, which is an inner sea for several states, is out of the question. Such waste should be disposed of in the Pacific or the Arctic Ocean. Yevgeniy Nazdratenko reported that a specialized tanker which would be able to make the trip to these oceans is being built in Kherson, but the vessel will not leave its building berth anytime soon; meanwhile large financial injections—including foreign ones—are needed to solve the problem of disposing of liquid radioactive waste.

Admiral Kasatonov on Nuclear Waste Dumping

OW0411051393 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 2 Nov 93

[News conference with Admiral Igor Kasatonov, first deputy commander of the Russian Navy, and Pacific Fleet officer Yelnikov by unidentified correspondents at the Vladivostok Navy Officers Club; date not given; from the "Pacific Ocean" program—recorded]

[Text] [Kasatonov] We understand that the questions raised by the press about the dumping of nuclear waste first and foremost generated a certain amount of special interest. The work was previously planned by the appropriate security systems of the Pacific Fleet; it posed no threat to anyone; and all the standards which had to be maintained strictly were observed—specifically from the point of view of security. As to the [word indistinct] point of view, let us say that the dumping of this [word indistinct] waste was carried out 60 miles off the Russian coast and 200 miles off the Japanese coast and at a depth of 3000 meters. All IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] demands were observed. [Words indistinct] zone No. 4 was a zone which has been confirmed by the appropriate international organizations. After conducting an additional and thorough examination, we did not find any misdeeds. Therefore, we must always be prepared for this. Just like the United States of America, Japan, and about 10 other countries, Russia is one of the states who employ nuclear power for peaceful purposes.

[Correspondent] Why is there a ban on visits by correspondents of the central and local press to the tanker where nuclear waste is now being collected? Why should we not show and tell the entire country, and foreign countries, too, that we are doing this to make the Sea of Japan safe, and show in general what we are doing to achieve this goal?

[Kasatonov] Unfortunately, they are located in areas of the port which, according to government regulations—and even those of the General Staff—are off limits. I understand the question. We will probably report to receive permission from the government. Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin vetoed a second instance of dumping, and so on.

[Correspondent] The Russian Navy command and the Ministry of Atomic Energy try to convince the world community that this dumping is safe, but the public reaction in Japan was such that today we have already stopped the dumping. Have we given in, or is this our official position, or [words indistinct]? In principle, will we continue dumping, or not?

[Kasatonov] These acts will continue. Japan itself has 16 power stations. In principle, the reactors are all the same; they operate on the same principle. There is nuclear waste in Japan, too, and Japan also pours it out and dumps it. So this bias and subjectivity should be eliminated. There is no other choice because nuclear [word indistinct] exist. We will continue.

[Correspondent] Will dumping in the Sea of Japan continue, or will it be done in some other part of the world's oceans?

[Kasatonov] The dumping of liquid radioactive waste does not constitute a threat or a danger, but measurements of radioactivity taken immediately after the dumping do exist, as does a proper document certified by the fleet commander. There is the special permission authorized by Danilov-Danilyan, the Russian minister of protection of the environment and natural resources. There are no aggressive events or circumstances that would cancel this task, especially because sinking these wastes is more dangerous than if we dump them, and after some minimal period of time all of this radioactivity is diluted and nothing is left.

[Correspondent] With the serious, well-understood, and well- known financial, social-economic, and other difficulties of the fleet as the background, how well prepared are officers and enlisted men to safely operate these facilities?

[Kasatonov] Our nuclear fleet has such a category as operators of nuclear reactors. They are also called managers. As a rule, these officers receive the highest special training, and they are excellent practitioners. I would like to say that as far as our managers are concerned... [pauses] we have more than 100 nuclear submarines—let us declassify this issue—and an operator serves an average of seven to eight years on a nuclear submarine, thus increasing his qualifications accordingly. Therefore, the level of training of these operators for operating nuclear reactors is high. Let us ask Comrade Yelnikov to speak on the issue of the safety of nuclear reactors and the human factor.

[Yelnikov] I am Yelnikov, chief of the department for repairs [words indistinct] of the Pacific Fleet. I participated directly in liquidating the consequences of the accident in Chazhma. In answering your question, let me ask your permission to go back a little. Returning to this question, I can say that the only reason for the accident there was the lack of personal technological discipline of certain specialists. But additional organizational [pauses] technical and organizational measures were later introduced into structural characteristics of the reactor and especially into the technological process of recharging the reactors, which exclude such a factor today. Therefore, I can tell you with full responsibility that today, something such as what happened in Chazhma is practically impossible when employing a nuclear submarine or when recharging the reactors.

As for the human factor: In practice, all our people who are directly connected to working with reactors undergo special study in civilian institutes—among them the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy, the Physics and Energy Institute, and a whole range of other institutes. Therefore, the level of the professional training of this level of specialists is very, very high. What is more, a whole series of additional organizational and technical jobs introduced after the tragedy in Chazhma allows us to control the processes connected to recharging or replacing the fuel composition in a reactor at practically all levels. There are no grounds for saying that professional training can in any way affect this matter.

Second Round of Talks on Sakhalin Shelf Concludes

OW0511090593 Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk Teleradiokompaniya Sakhalin Television Network in Russian 1905 GMT 25 Oct 93

[Interview with Galina Nikolayevna Pavlova, Sakhalin representative at Moscow talks on development of Sakhalin continental shelf deposits; place and date not given; from the "As of this hour" program—recorded]

[Text] A second round of talks on the Sakhalin 1 and 2 projects concluded in Moscow several days ago. Galina Nikolayevna Pavlova represents the interests of Sakhalin Oblast in the Russian delegation.

[Begin Pavlova recording] No concrete agreements on Sakhalin 1 have been reached between us and (Adeco). The Japanese delegation continues to consult its government and shareholders and they promise to present us with the final conclusion on 25 October. You probably know that the Russian delegation proposed that the foreign company waive their demand for the return of credits, pay bonuses and a string of social guarantees to the Sakhalin Oblast—which were not included in the general agreement. The Russian delegation also proposed that the foreign company participate in developing a united infrastructure of the shelf, and that the Sakhmorneftegaz Industrial Association participate as an equal partner. If this is agreed upon, Russia will assign them another promising petroleum and gas deposit, and possibly the development of Sakhalin 1 project.

Talks on Sakhalin 2 project were more productive. A major step forward in our long and thorny talks has been made. As you know, we are conducting talks with the MMM consortium. Excuse me, the U.S. MMMM consortium. The foreign delegation finally agreed to a compromise and fulfilled a series of conditions, among them those of Sakhalin Oblast. For example, they were confronted with the very important question of the broad participation of Russian entrepreneurs in the project development. An agreement has been reached that the foreign company will employ about 70 percent of Russian hired labor, materials, equipment, and specialists selected from a list drawn by Russia and on a noncompetitive basis. This is very important for Sakhalin, the Far East, and for Russia as a whole. In response to a demand of the Russian delegation, the preliminary research period has also been significantly reduced—almost twofold. This will speed up the development of the shelf and allow us to finally get some profit. Moreover, a Russian delegation proposal on protecting the interests of native northern peoples, and on the procedure for compensation of damage to fish and other biological sea and land resources has been accepted. These funds will be used for recultivation and compensation for damages, which is very important for the Sakhalin residents. To improve profitability, the consortium pledged to hold talks with the Sakhalin 1 project so as to develop a single infrastructure of the shelf. This is also very important for us.

Finally, during discussion of the commercial conditions, the foreign delegation expressed its willingness to deposit $100 million into the fund for development of Sakhalin, which is something we have insisted on for many months, and to pay a bonus of about $50 million, half of which will also go to Sakhalin Oblast. [end recording]

Japan Presents Railway Rolling Stock to Sakhalin

OW0411102293 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 2 Nov 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] The Sakhalin Railway rolling stock depot has received a substantial replenishment—28 imported diesel trains. This was a gift to the islanders from Japan's Eastern Railway, arranged with the help of Mitsui Company, which wants to participate in the development of the Sakhalin shelf.

During the equipment hand-over ceremony, the Japanese train drivers presented their Sakhalin colleagues with a symbolic key to the diesel trains. According to Anatoliy Vasilyev, chief of Sakhalin Railway, this present will entirely solve the problem of local passenger transport on the remainder of the island's railway.

Symposium Discusses Moscow-Tokyo Relations

LD0411202693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1950 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—Symposia on relations between Russia and Japan have been held in Russia for 20 years, traditionally organised by the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations and the Japanese National Security Council, a group advising the government and prime minister of Japan on foreign policy, including with respect to Russia and other commonwealth countries.

This year's symposium was attended by prominent politicians, scientists and diplomats, including Gennadiy Burbulis, Georgiy Kunadze, institute director Vladlen Martynov and secretary general of the Japanese Security Council Ichiro Suetsugu.

Summing up the results of the three-day symposium, Martynov said that "the symposium has for a long time served as the most important channel of communication for politicians and public figures of the two countries". This year's symposium was made particularly significant by the recent visit of the Russian president to Tokyo. The results of the visit enabled the participants in the symposium to arrange an in-depth, sincere exchange of views on the state and prospects for their development of Russia-Japanese relations, nuclear non-proliferation and mechanisms of international and regional cooperation.

"I have an impression that our views on these problems have come much closer together," said Japanese delegation leader Ichiro Suetsugu. We believe that Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan became a new reference point in the Moscow-Tokyo dialogue. We held a discussion of new forms of bilateral interaction proceeding from this, in particular when we examined ways to settle the territorial dispute between out two countries and to achieve the signing of a peace treaty.

As concerns positive trends in the official positions of Russia and Japan with regard to the territorial issue, Ichiro Suetsugu pointed to "tangible psychological shifts" in the Russian Government and a greater than before flexibility of Japan's new government.

Along with this, one of the veterans of Moscow symposia, Professor Sazaki complained that "through all these years we have not succeeded in attaining results which would justify our efforts", referring mainly to the lack of practical steps towards the settlement of the dispute over "northern territories". "We have to work hard to make headway in this direction", he stressed.

Chelyabinsk Plant Sells Tractors to China

PM0511094393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 3 Nov 93

[By L. Shesterkina; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Outside the main entrance of the Chelyabinsk tractor plant, now the Uraltrak joint stock company, there is an exhibition and fair of all kinds of models of tractors produced here. At the center of attention are a minitractor and an improved version of the renowned DT250. The Chinese aviation industry has concluded a contract with Uraltrak for the delivery of this equipment but neither Russian entrepreneurs nor the CIS countries are thick on the ground at the fair although this equipment is no less needed in our area than it is in China.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Considers Constitution After Meeting With Regional Leaders

Working Group To Finalize Draft

LD0411172493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov—After a debate on the constitutional draft, which took place yesterday at a meeting between the president and Russian regional leaders, the working group of the Constitutional Conference, headed by Sergey Filatov, was instructed to finalize the last points of contention.

In the end it was decided that the Federation Treaty would remain beyond the boundaries of the constitutional draft, but that its text would contain certain points from the Federation Treaty.

The idea of "sovereignty" of the republics and of the Russian Federation as such is not included in the draft of the Constitution.

The working group must still settle the points on citizenship in the republics and on the equality of subjects of the federation.

This was reported to an ITAR-TASS correspondent by Yuriy Baturin, aide to the Russian president.

'Sovereignty' Absent From Draft

LD0411135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1314 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The Russian draft constitution contains no notion of "sovereignty", either for the republics within Russia or for the country as a whole, the working group of the constitutional assembly headed by Sergey Filatov, chief of the presidential administration, decided on Thursday [4 November].

It was also decided that the federative treaty would not be included into the draft, although the constitution will fix some of its provisions.

Yet to be agreed upon remain the issues of the equality of subjects of the Federation and the problem of citizenship in republics, TASS was told by Yuriy Barutin, an aide of the Russian president.

The working group was instructed to finally agree upon the disputed provisions of the draft after the Wednesday meeting of the president with leaders of Russian regions.

Yeltsin Ready To Sign Edict

LD0411155593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1440 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov—"There is now a single and agreed text of the Constitution." Russia's President Boris Yeltsin said this during a ceremony devoted to the presentation of credentials to the Russian head of state by the ambassadors of several countries.

"Either today or tomorrow I may sign the edict on putting the draft constitution to a referendum," the president said.

On the stance of the republics and regions, Boris Yeltsin said that "the October events in Moscow did much to change their stance in the direction of consolidation." These events brought them to the realization that "the soviets could exist no longer and that reforming representative power in the regions was inevitable," the president noted.

Replying to a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent, Boris Yeltsin said "I did not have to use forceful methods, and those who had doubts came to consult me."

Commenting on yesterday's conference in the Kremlin with the leaders of republics and regions, the president said "to be honest, I had expected more resistance."

Boris Yeltsin said that "major work on preparing for the elections" has already begun.

Yeltsin Comments on Meeting

LD0411203393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Interview with President Boris Yeltsin by unidentified "special" correspondent on 4 November; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] What are your impressions of yesterday's conference [of federal republic leaders], of the positions of the regions and of federalism in Russia?

[Yeltsin] Of course, there are certain disagreements between the regions and the republics. However, yesterday's conference was held in a constructive spirit. And in the evening, when the Conciliation Commission gathered for its meeting, all of them reached a common view. Now there is a single text which has been agreed on and, if not today then tomorrow morning, I shall sign a decree on the draft constitution for a referendum and for publication.

[Correspondent] How can you explain that a constructive point of view has won?

[Yeltsin] I think the recent October events have had a strong effect.

[Correspondent] Has there been some reappraisal?

[Yeltsin] Yes, there has been much reappraisal, especially in the republics. They have now realized that the soviets have had their day, as they say, and that the representative bodies should be reformed. And this means taking part in the elections. The election campaign is well under way.

'Unlimited Sovereignty' Opposed

PM0511113993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 93 p 1

[Andrey Podkopalov report: "Is the Parade of Sovereignties Over?"]

[Text] The period of chaos and disintegration seems to have ended in Russia. Since the strong-arm solution of the problem of dyarchy at the center, the president's team has been resolutely restoring control over the country. And while the method of removing the Supreme Soviet has scarcely added to Boris Yeltsin's popularity, the toughness he showed over the "sovereignties" of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation at the meeting with leaders of the components of the Federation will find understanding in society.

So what happened, then? The president proposed (first and foremost to the leaders of the republics) that they agree to delete the formula of "sovereignty" of the republics from the new draft constitution, which will be voted on on 12 December, and also remove the Federation Treaty from the Constitution. This effectively equalizes the rights of all the components of the Federation, which the Russian regions have long insisted on—and not without grounds.

And, it must be said, the president's position proved to be pretty strong—yesterday a special working party comprising representatives of the president (S. Filatov and S. Shakhray), the republics (V. Stepanov from Karelia and M. Nikolayev from Yakutia), and the Russian regions (Yu. Luzhkov and A. Belyakov) effectively approved (with cosmetic amendments) the president's proposals. The majority of representatives of the republics also decided—after a special conference—not to cling to the formula "sovereignty"...

Of course, attempts by the most "independent" (Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Karelia) to continue struggling for their own, principally economic, privileges cannot be ruled out—but this can scarcely change anything.

Moscow posseses both a carrot (in the form of some limited economic privileges) and a stick (the threat of denying federal subsidies, supplies of cash, and so forth). A compromise acceptable to Moscow is most likely to be achieved through direct bilateral talks...

The repudiation of the formula "unlimited sovereignty"—take as much as you want—is a perfectly understandable and easily explicable thing at this stage. Wooing the regions, which made it possible to cut loose from the Union center and later to settle scores with parliament, is henceforth devoid of sense and is even harmful...

It is not just that the formula "single and indivisible," which is natural to the Russian way of thinking, is being restored. The restoration of a single political and economic area, which was pretty mangled by both the confrontation of the branches of power and the regional "sovereignty" games, is absolutely vital for really large-scale and deep economic reforms.

Commission Prepares Laws for Federal Assembly

PM0411163793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Igor Korolkov report: "Raft of Documents Being Prepared for New Parliament"]

[Text] The suspension of legislative activity in a country is the same kind of extraordinary event as, for example, the withdrawal of a blast furnace from a continuous production cycle. For this reason, following the presidential edict suspending the activity of the Supreme Soviet, an edict was promulgated on the formation of a Legislative Proposals [predpolozheniya] Commission under the president "in order to ensure the continuity of the norm-setting process prior to the formation of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly." The first session of the commission was held 3 November.

The session defined the main areas of work. First and foremost this includes preparation of the draft laws necessary for the normal activity of the new parliament. We need standing orders for the State Duma, the Federation Council, and joint sessions of the Federation Council and State Duma, and we need a law ratifying presidential edicts on issues of legal codification promulgated after 21 September 1993. We cannot do without a law on the status of deputies in the Federation Council and the State Duma. It is intended to prepare all these and a whole list of other draft laws by the middle of next January.

The commission will have to labor for some time over finishing off draft laws that were formulated by (and many of which were actually adopted by) the Supreme Soviet. It will have to carry out a kind of inventory and analysis of these draft laws (of which there are over 150), making them intelligible, so to speak, and submitting them to the president, who would then submit them for examination by the Federal Assembly.

The commission discussed a draft law on amending and supplementing the Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code. Both codes still contain the concept of "socialist property," and the draft proposes to exclude this from the documents.

The draft also envisages the inclusion in the Criminal Code of certain amendments reflecting the present crime situation and ensuring measures to step up the fight against organized crime. The new draft broadens the limits of justifiable defense. The draft also includes the concept of "terrorism," which used to be coyly excluded from the authorities' legal practice.

The commission also discussed the question of bringing into force the law "On Amending and Supplementing the Code of Administrative Violations of the Law." This law was adopted by the Supreme Soviet, but the president vetoed it, believing that the need for "amendments and supplements" was not as great as the need for basic legislative principles. Having analyzed the law, the commission nevertheless recommended that it be brought into force despite the president's original opinion with a view to submitting the law for ratification by the Federal Assembly.

Commission Head Comments

LD0511125393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1045 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—"A legal foundation, on which the work of the future Federal Assembly will be based, is now being laid by the legislative proposals commission under the Russian president. It is drawing up a package of eleven bills, called upon to clearly define the functions of each house of the new parliament, of its committees, commissions, and factions. They will also determine the status of future parliament members, the duties of the parliamentary apparatus," commission chairman Mikhail Mityukov told ITAR-TASS today.

The contours of the future parliament are defined by a presidential decree and the draft of the new constitution. Proceeding from this, the commission is drawing up rules in accordance with which the two houses of the Federal Assembly—the Council of the Federation and the State Duma—will be completely autonomous and independent from each other, both as regards functions and internal regulations. Mityukov, a former people's deputy of the Russian Federation, drew attention to the fact that each house would be headed by a chairman, but there would be no common speaker or presidium. The role of the chairmen of the two houses will be restricted only to the observance of the order of the day and to the chairing of sessions. There will be no joint committees. "Learning on past lessons, we are endeavouring to rule out duplicity and inefficiency in parliamentary work," Mityukov noted. "It is planned," he noted, "to entrust all the material supply functions to some officials especially appointed by each house, or to a committee set up for this purpose, and not to one person, as it happened in the past."

The working version of the Federal Assembly's rules was approved during the first meeting of the commission and this "rounded off its organisational period. Now the commission is getting down to day- to-day work according to plan," the chairman stated. He said that the second most important task of the commission was to finalise the bills, left over after the Supreme Soviet's dissolution. This is explained by the need to "preserve continuity in the legislative process during the period left before the election of the Federal Assembly", Mityukov explained. The commission has studied more than 200 drafts and decided that about sixty of them were of priority importance. They include documents pertaining to the protection of the rights of an individual, to the state's legal development, and to federalism in Russia. They also include some legal acts intended to promote the ongoing reforms—on the management of property, the bank system, and the fundamentals of the land, labour, and housing legislation. The commission has found important some drafts relating to the state's security, the judicial reform, and education.

The commission includes about 50 lawyers and economists, more than twenty doctors and masters of sciences. Its leader believes that this will allow the commission to conduct legislative work on a high professional level.

82 Former Deputies Lose Benefits

PM0411161593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "News in Brief"]

[Text] Eighty-two former Russian deputies have been deemed not to be entitled to the Russian Federation president's social guarantees. In the opinion of Aleksey Surkov, leader of the commission to determine the range of persons not covered by Russian presidential edict No. 1590 of 6 October 1993 on social guarantees for former Russian people's deputies, this list "could be further expanded by approximately one-third" on the basis of information submitted by the Russian General Prosecutor's Office, which is examining the circumstances surrounding the October clashes in the capital.

Future Parliament's Role Assessed

PM0411152993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Pavel Medvedev and Igor Nit, members of the group of experts under the Russian president: "New Constitution Contains Potential Government Crisis"]

[Text] The process of drawing up party lists in preparation for the Federal Assembly elections in December and the nomination of candidates for single-seat electoral districts give no grounds for certainty that the new parliament will be capable of constructive and responsible activity from the outset of its existence. The blocs which have announced their democratic orientation are showing little readiness to cooperate with one another. The conflicts within the blocs are shockingly severe.

It is unlikely that relations will improve after the democrats become deputies. Disagreements will inevitably arise almost as soon as the new parliamentarians take their seats, primarily over the question of the election (the nomination and confirmation, as the new Constitution instructs) of the new head of government. Is there any guarantee that the democrats will be able to agree a candidate quickly enough, particularly when you bear in mind that the well known edict in principle allows any of them to become premier without giving up his seat as a deputy? Given that there will clearly be not just democrats in parliament, the hope that Russia will quickly find a new head of government looks very slim.

The new draft constitution we have now contains no levers for resolving a potential clash. True, the president is entitled to dissolve the Duma if it turns down three of his candidates for the premiership. But to do this five months (this period follows from the conditions laid down in the draft constitution) after the dissolution of the previous parliament is absolutely impossible, politically speaking. The threat of dissolving the Duma will for a while be a means for the Duma to pressure the president rather than the reverse. Let alone the fact that the draft constitution allows the Duma in the first year of its existence to dismiss the government with absolute impunity. Nor can the Duma be dissolved under any circumstances during the last six months of its work. Consequently, if the view that the first Duma must be given only two years of existence prevails, the nominal lever of influence on the Duma and president will be operative only from 12 December 1994 to 12 June 1995. However, he will be politically blocked during that time.

The drafters of the constitution clearly understood this, as they enshrined in the text a formula whereby the government resigns only when faced by a newly elected president (but not a parliament). However, this formula is contradicted by another: The president has to submit his nomination for chairman of the government to the Duma for examination within two weeks of the first session of the new Duma. This inconsistency can, of course, be easily removed, allowing the president not to submit the question of the new premier for an indefinitely long period after the election of the Duma. However, the Duma will retain anyway the possibility of dismissing a government per week for a whole year.

We can see only one way out of the situation: Counterbalancing the year-long moratorium on the president's dissolution of the Duma by a year-long moratorium on the latter's intervention in the formation of the cabinet. This will enhance the government's stability during the most difficult period of transition to the new system of management of the state and new economic conditions and minimize the influence of personal factors in deciding the question of choosing a candidate for premier.

The Duma's year-long exemption from the duty of influencing the operational management of the state will allow it to concentrate on instilling order in legislation. Such activity will undoubtedly unite the deputies of different democratic factions because, as was said earlier, the constructive parts of their programs are almost identical. The scheduling of a referendum on the advisability of early Duma elections for the middle of its four-year term of office would serve as a marvellous incentive for creative work by the first Duma (and perhaps all subsequent ones).

Tension Between Cabinet, Presidential Administration Grows

MK0411124593 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 45, 3-9 Nov 93 (signed to press 2 Nov) p 1

[Yuriy Svetov report under the "Echo of the Week" column and general headline: "All Roads Lead Behind the Scenes"]

[Text] It has become known from sources in the Russian Council of Ministers that its staffers are somehow sensing a buildup of tensions. There is a changing attitude toward the Council of Ministers from the president's administration. Persistent rumors have it that Gennadiy Burbulis is going to return to the position of state secretary and that his main function would be to oversee the government's activities. Officials are wondering whether the building on Staraya Ploshchad is being readied for the role as the objective of the next tank attack. The question arises: Does the government govern the country? Its sessions are held approximately once every 10 days to discuss three or four questions with hundreds of questions awaiting their turn. What they term a Council of Ministers decision is either the premier's personal directive or that of one of the vice premiers interested in the given question. "To-agree-on-the-whole" resolutions are passed, as in the times of [Communist] party committees, on questions hurriedly discussed, following which the top dog is free to rehash them, to add or take out anything he pleases. The Council of Ministers mechanism that Viktor Chernomyrdin took much pain to make work as a single whole is again beginning to get out of balance. Will it be different now that the ministers and vice premiers, selected at random, have become political opponents vying for a deputy's immunity? They are even said to be not on speaking terms with each other. Everyone wants to watch the tussle between M. Poltoranin and V. Shumeyko, who has developed a liking for restoring a state ideology. A stream of complaints about the premier's political neutrality is pouring forth. Some folks believe that V. Chernomyrdin thinks of himself as a stopgap who has no business joining political showdowns. What appears more sensible is the guess that the premier's neutrality today will bring weighty dividends tomorrow. The Federal Assembly, analysts believe, may put as the first item on its agenda the question of impeaching the president. Who is to replace him? Chernomyrdin. The president's administration, of course, loathes that, while Filatov, Krasavchenko, and Filippov have long being trying the premier's uniform on for size. In the meantime, commissions are busy determining the size of salary increases for length of service in governing organs.

If you are loyal, then even your work for the CPSU Central Committee is an asset; if there are some doubts, you get a smaller salary.

Intelligence Officials Discuss Current Tasks

PM0411145593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Oct 93 p 6

[Interview with Vadim Kirpichenko, leader of consultants' group under the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, FIS, director, and Yuriy Kobaladze, chief of the FIS Press Service, by Ravil Mustafin; place and date not given: "Foreign Intelligence: From USSR to Russia"]

[Text] As we have already reported, the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA collective has hosted Vadim Alekseyevich Kirpichenko, leader of the consultants' group under the FIS director, and Yuriy Georgiyevich Kobaladze, chief of the FIS Press Service. They talked about how Russian intelligence is currently faring and answered questions. A record of this meeting is presented for the attention of readers.

[Kirpichenko] There have been many changes in intelligence in the last two years. To start with, the intelligence service was separated from the KGB and consequently from the system of law-enforcement organs. True, this did not diminish criticism of it from the Russian press. There was a departyization of intelligence. Intelligence officers have been prohibited from participating in the activities of any political parties. Probably, to a certain extent this even saved the intelligence service, because there is no place here for mutual political score-settling.

As regards the essence of intelligence activity itself, first, we have renounced globalism. Whereas we used to try to have a presence in even the most remote corners of the planet, we are now working only in the places where Russia has real and not imaginary interests. Even if we now wanted to operate on a broader scale, it is impossible to do so for material reasons.

In the last two years there has been a sharp—30-40 percent—reduction in various intelligence components: at the center and at local level. We have closed around 30 field stations abroad.

Second, we have renounced the actual concept of an "enemy." Russian intelligence now has no main or secondary enemies. Work is organized according to geographical areas. In addition, a transition from confrontation to cooperation is taking place in intelligence. Of course, it is not all-embracing. Permanent channels of collaboration have now taken clear shape on such problems as fighting international crime, the drugs business, the proliferation of mass destruction weapons, and the illegal arms trade.

The following trend has also taken shape: a transition from collaboration in the criminal sphere toward political collaboration. The intelligence service is using its resources to monitor the observance of international treaties and agreements on arms reduction and controlling the nonproliferation of the most dangerous types of weapons, and is exchanging information on such conflicts as the Near East and Yugoslav conflicts. In this sense we can talk of the intelligence service's role as a stabilizing factor in the world.

We believe that if the situation as a whole develops normally, collaboration between leading countries' intelligence services will be further developed. True, this by no means precludes the conduct of intelligence activity in the interests of a specific state. And we urge our opponents to react calmly to this fact. In response to frequent accusations, for instance from the Americans, who "complain" about our activeness, we always say that Russian intelligence in the United States is doing no more than U.S. intelligence in our country.

A very important event for us was the former Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's adoption in July last year of the law on intelligence, which strictly defines all our activities. Whereas previously we and our GRU [Main Intelligence Directorate] colleagues silently did what we were ordered to do by the people at the top—the Politburo, general secretaries, and KGB chairmen—what intelligence can do and what it is forbidden to do have now been clearly defined.

We have been forbidden to work by uncivilized methods. For example, special preparations harmful to a person's health, compromising materials, or blackmail cannot be used. Work to recruit agents has now been reduced to finding people who themselves want to help us voluntarily, whether for money or out of love for Russia.

In short, despite everything, the intelligence service is working and providing the Russian leadership with reliable information divested of its ideological trappings.

[Kobaladze] If only a few years ago someone had said that the intelligence service would have its own press service, that person would probably have been held up to ridicule. But our intelligence service does have such a service now. What does it do?

Above all it maintains liaison with the mass media. Of course, we are not trying to change the orientation of publications of one sort or another or to make sure that only good things are written about the intelligence service. Our aim is to ensure that people who at least know what they are talking about write about intelligence, and that they write objectively. Of course, there are things for which the intelligence service can be criticized. But unfortunately it is criticized not for actual shortcomings but for completely fantastic things.

Only recently there was a case where the author of an article published in SROCHNO V NOMER! [Stop Press!] stated in passing that all the intelligence service does is sell off its secrets left, right, and center. I asked the author to point out specific examples of such a sell-off. No reply was forthcoming. We then contacted the newspaper's chief editor. He promised to investigate. And, it must be said, he did indeed investigate. The article's author was dismissed. It turned out that it was not an isolated incident; he had, to put it mildly, indulged in such inaccuracies previously.

The second area of our activity is liaison with the public. Our staffers deliver lectures on the history of intelligence at Moscow State University, Moscow State International Relations Institute, and other Moscow higher educational establishments. The main aim of these speeches is to familiarize young people, primarily those who are going to work abroad, with the institution of intelligence and with what it does. True, we are now being accused of trying to recruit new cadres for ourselves by this method. We make no secret of the fact that we will be only too pleased if someone comes to us wanting to work in intelligence.

Third is work with our archives. There is also more than enough speculation, gossip, rumors, and fabrications here. The point is that intelligence archives were created for operational purposes, not scientific or historical purposes. Previously nobody thought that journalists and academics would be visiting our archives in the nineties.

On the other hand, intelligence archives do indeed contain interesting documents which can be used to fill in many blank spots in domestic and foreign history. For instance, to sweep aside ridiculous accusations against someone.

Here is just one episode. A few days ago we handed over documents associated with Rerikh's expedition to the Himalayas to the Rerikh International Center. We did so with great pleasure, because there was a lot of gossip to the effect that Rerikh had close links with intelligence. In fact Rerikh had sent a letter to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the intelligence service asking them to assist him with the journey. And he was given such help. But there are no grounds for claiming that Rerikh was spying for Stalin. The documents we handed over refute such accusations.

Incidentally, a bit more about the trade in archives that has allegedly taken place. This could not happen for the further reason that a special commission we call the screening commission has been created in the intelligence service. Any document which leaves the intelligence service first of all undergoes screening in the subunit to which it belongs. It then goes to the archive department, where it is looked at from the viewpoint of the safety of disclosing it. It then reaches this commission and with the FIS director's permission the document can be made public. Therefore the accidental or deliberate sale of documents is simply precluded.

It is another matter that at one time some intelligence documents ended up in the CPSU Central Committee and other archives. From there some of them, including ones harmful to the security of both the intelligence service and the state, ended up in the press. But, I repeat, the intelligence service has nothing to do with these leaks.

As an example I can cite the case of the party's money. You know that the intelligence service took part in the handover of this money. Some documents have been published. Nobody disputes that this money had to be found and returned to the country. But this was done barbarically, the names of specific intelligence officers appeared in the press and they had to be urgently recalled from their missions. This is not done in a single normal country. It is simply intolerable.

At the same time we realize that the intelligence service is of some interest to society. We have therefore devised a program of writing books about the most important episodes of the "cold war." Although it is a joint project with the Americans it does not mean that we are just going to hand over our papers across the ocean. They will go to Russian authors, while U.S. authors will work with their own archives.

The first book (although strictly speaking it is not part of this series but anticipates it, as it were) will be about Aleksandr Orlov, the famous Soviet intelligence officer. In many respects his fate is tragic and contradictory. Rightly fearing that he would be repressed, he stayed in the West. But he did not give away any of the intelligence officers he knew. For example, the famous five including Kim Philby. This book has already been published in English and French. The Russian reader will also be able to see it in the very near future.

There will also be other books. We consider ourselves indebted to our public and our readers. In addition, a documentary series about Soviet intelligence is being shot and work on a six-volume history of Soviet intelligence is in progress.

[Mustafin] It has already been repeatedly stated that Russian intelligence is not working against nearby foreign states. At the same time it is well known that one of the main threats to Russia's security comes from the local, internal conflicts which are raging and brewing in nearby foreign countries. Is there not a contradiction here?

[Kirpichenko] No, there is no contradiction. We are not acquiring sources in the former Soviet republics which belong to the CIS. That is the first thing. Second, the Russian intelligence collective is multiethnic. Therefore even if we began such work it would very soon collapse.

But that does not mean that the intelligence service is completely indifferent to the events taking place in the former Soviet republics. Our information and analysis services are carrying out appropriate work. We also monitor the development of the situation in nearby foreign countries from countries further afield. As you can probably imagine, the information possessed by, for instance, the Iranians or Turks about our nearby foreign countries is naturally of interest to us. And of course we do not overlook interesting information from other sources, for example we widely use open-source information.

[Mustafin] In conditions when the intelligence service's authority has been considerably undermined, what still motivates the people who cooperate with you?

[Kirpichenko] There are quite a lot of motives guiding the people who cooperate with us. They are the desire to earn extra money, dissatisfaction with their bosses or career, and the desire to make a name for themselves in secret activity. There are also a considerable number of people who feel enormous love for our country, for example emigrants from Russia who retain favorable feelings toward their motherland and want to help it.

Previously recruitment had mainly an ideological, patriotic basis. Especially in the years just before and during World War II. But belief in the USSR was gradually replaced by disenchantment. So the material factor simultaneously became stronger. As regards recruitment on the basis of compromising materials, the proportion of such people enlisted in cooperation was always negligible. Because a person recruited forcibly will sooner or later try to get his revenge or betray you.

[Mustafin] We recently carried a cartoon in our newspaper with the following caption: All the intelligence officers in the world read KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. What volume of information do intelligence officers glean from the open press?

[Kirpichenko] The press is a serious basis for carrying out intelligence work, it is always of interest to a professional intelligence officer. Anyone who does not read the newspapers does not know the country and cannot work normally. It is by no means always the case that an intelligence officer operates only at the center's request or on permanent tasks. He frequently raises questions on the basis of material culled from the press. I am sure that foreign intelligence services get a very great deal of useful information from the Russian press nowadays.

[Kobaladze] I would like to add something. There is an acknowledged classic book on the history of intelligence. It is called "The Art of Intelligence." In it a military specialist, by analyzing only the open press, was able to give his general staff information which had been declared top secret. He was later tried for disclosing a state secret. Although there was no state secret. He had taken everything "secret" from the open press.

[Mustafin] A few days ago IZVESTIYA wrote about a Soviet cipher clerk who had defected to the West from Warsaw and who had given away ciphers, thanks to which Western special services could read our encrypted messages for over 10 years.

[Kirpichenko] There was such a case. Of a cipher clerk who defected to the West with his family. But even before his defection he had been removed from work with sensitive documents. In relation to the ciphers, matters are, to put it mildly, not quite the way IZVESTIYA portrays them.

[Kobaladze] As of today I am probably the only person to have read the book mentioned in Nadein's article. Some days ago at a book fair in Frankfurt I met its author, a U.S. journalist, who gave me the book. The book is written professionally but it has little in common with reality. But Mr. Nadein obviously took the blurb about this book that appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES as the basis for his item.

[Mustafin] Does the intelligence service make forecasts regarding Russia's future?

[Kirpichenko] No, Russian intelligence does not make such forecasts. True, from time to time specialists in our Information and Analysis Directorate analyze various kinds of problems, for instance regarding the economy or ethnic problems, on the basis of intelligence information, the open and closed press, and confidential sources. These things are done, but as a rule from the other direction.

[Mustafin] How is Russia now perceived abroad?

[Kirpichenko] In various ways. In particular, it is perceived as a state which is experiencing incredible political and economic difficulties and which will not get firmly back on its feet very quickly.

We are perceived in the same realistic way as we perceive ourselves. Generally, given the current openness and glasnost, there is nothing secret about life in Russia or the CIS for anyone. Nobody is idealizing our current positions, and our path toward democratic restructuring is seen as a very long and hard one fraught with agonizing frustrations.

[Mustafin] At one time there was a lot of talk about agents of influence. What can you say about this?

[Kirpichenko] Yes, we did have such a term as agent of influence. This term was taken to mean a high-ranking official, well known journalist, or minister who for some reason was interested in unofficial contacts with the intelligence service. We tried to utilize such people, to channel their efforts in the direction required by us. We have now moved away from this.

[Mustafin] How accurate were the U.S. forecasts regarding events in the former USSR?

[Kirpichenko] Twenty-year-old CIA papers testify that the growth of dissidence, the economic slump, and the rise of nationalism were predicted at Langley. They predicted all this when outwardly everything looked entirely normal, when the crisis in the economy had not yet been observed—a crisis which then led to collapse—and when many areas of the former USSR had not yet been engulfed by the fires of local conflicts.

[Mustafin] Some years ago there was a report that a British intelligence officer who had crossed over to our side had committed suicide. What was the reason for this step?

[Kirpichenko] This was Salter. A man who crossed over to us for ideological reasons. He studied Russian and loved Mayakovskiy and Yesenin, and it must be said that the thought of taking his own life had haunted him since his youth. Although he married here and even managed to settle down with a child. In short, from his early years this man evidently had a hang-up about the suicide of Mayakovskiy and Yesenin. He talked about it a lot.

Salter gave us a great deal of excellent help. Obviously there was no definite motive here other than, maybe, some kind of a psychological crack-up.

Incidentally, all those who crossed over to us for both material and ideological reasons found it quite difficult to settle down here in this country.

[Mustafin] That is, this was not revenge on the part of his former Western colleagues?

[Kirpichenko] No, definitely not. Just imagine that you have to start over from scratch, start a new family, adapt to our far from hothouse conditions... People find themselves in a totally different situation that is unfamiliar to them. [Kirpichenko ends]

From the Editorial Office

We will recount some unknown but striking pages in the history of our intelligence service and its heroes in subsequent articles.

New Security Measures Introduced After Post Office Bombing

LD0511054893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0112 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Emergency security measures are to be undertaken by postal workers due to the explosion of an unclaimed parcel at the main Moscow post office, which killed one person and injured three. There was a homemade bomb in the parcel, made up of an F1 hand grenade and a pull fuse.

According to information from the Federal Communications Directorate of the Russian Federation, instructions on tightening control on items sent by mail, especially by air mail, have been sent to all Russian post offices. Now postal workers accepting parcels for postage must not only establish identity but certify in writing that no prohibited contents were found in it. It will also be compulsory for all passport details of the sender to be registered at the post office. X-ray equipment of the sort used by customs men is to be used to check the contents of parcels.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Human Rights Commission

PM0511091993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

["Own Information" report: "President Strengthens Guarantees of Russians' Rights and Freedoms"]

[Excerpt] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed the Edict "On Backing up the Activity of the Russian Federation Presidential Commission on Human Rights."

As the head of state's press service reported, the commission, of which Sergey Kovalev has been appointed chairman, includes Sergey Averintsev, Aleksandr Adamovich, Sergey Alekseyev, Mikhail Arutyunov, Vyacheslav Bakhmin, Yelena Bonner, Igor Golembiovskiy, Boris Zolotukhin, Fazil Iskander, Andrey Kozyrev, Aleksandr Kopylov, Mikhail Molostvov, and Sergey Sirotkin. [passage omitted]

Human Rights Activists Oppose Edict on Vagrancy

MK0411111193 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 2

[Mikhail Shapiro report: "Edict on Combating Vagrancy. Human Rights Activists Concerned Over Executive Authorities' Measures"]

[Text] The draft edict "On Measures To Prevent Vagrancy and Begging" (KOMMERSANT-DAILY has already reported on it) was approved by the president yesterday. To all appearances, the president brought himself to do so under pressure from the Moscow administration, which has long called on the Russian political authorities to take decisive steps against non-Muscovites. In KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts' view, this edict is a continuation a trend toward political expediency, which is gaining the upper hand in the president's lawmaking activity.

The Moscow administration, by exploiting its influence on the executive authorities it acquired as a result of the October coup attempt, has convinced the president of the need to take tough measures against vagrants and beggars. The stepping up of the struggle against them effectively amounts to an extension of the state of emergency. In addition, by doing so the Moscow authorities expect to improve their approval rating among Muscovites during the election campaign. These measures, however, may just as well do a disservice to the Moscow authorities if the Muscovites themselves react negatively to turning Moscow into a kind of concentration camp—one that can be entered or left, or where people are allowed to live, only with the city authorities' permission.

Moscow's human rights activists have reacted negatively to the president's latest stepping up of the struggle against vagrancy. Kirill Popov, a human rights activist, said for instance that this edict would not help bring order to Moscow streets at all. It is by no means certain that those who do not have a Moscow residence permit are criminals. The passport system has been left behind, and there is no reason to revive it.

Most other human rights activists from Moscow, who were surveyed by your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent, agreed that the presidential edict, on one hand, would not eliminate the sources of crime and, on the other, would create fertile ground for abuse of power by the militia, who would now be able to declare any citizen they do not like a vagrant and to deport him or her from Moscow. Aleksandr Podrabinek, editor-in-chief of EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA, a Moscow-based human rights newspaper, believes that combating vagrancy by administrative measures, let alone criminal prosecution, is impermissible. By signing this edict the president has evidently made a gross tactical error, because the struggle against vagrants may result in large-scale violations of human and ethnic minority rights.

Kostikov Calls For Creation of 'Clean Russia' Movement

PM0511144193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Vyacheslav Kostikov, President Yeltsin's press secretary: "'Farewell, Unwashed Russia.' Are Russians Going To Repeat This Phrase in the Footsteps of the Great Poet? We Need a Movement That Could Tap and Organize to Good Effect the Energy of the Millions of Citizens Who Are 'Totally Fed Up With Politics'"]

[Text] The events of 3-4 October sharply increased the pulse rate of Russian politics. The fall of 1993 is more like spring with its meltwater torrents. After the rupture of the parliamentary dam, which had turned politics into a quarrelsome swamp, the political extremes which had given us an explosive taste of civil war have been washed away and the life of civilized parties and movements has been sharply activated. After many months of low-grade fever, clear political prospects have emerged. Namely the Federal Assembly elections and the adoption of a new constitution.

It is easy to anticipate that Russian appurtenances and symbols and Russian patriotic music will be widely used in the upcoming election campaign. Each party will naturally seek to prove that it and its program are most consonant with Russia's national interests and the people's aspirations. Ye. Gaydar, G. Yavlinskiy, S. Shakhray, V. Zhirinovskiy, and G. Zyuganov may each have his own vision of Russia and its road into the future. What invariably happens in any political campaign, consciously or otherwise, with a greater or lesser degree of sincerity or slyness, is that Russia is tailored to fit your own political garb.

Even honest politicians are sometimes color-blind during election battles. But affiliation with a party bloc is tantamount to party membership, albeit in a watered-down form, and a consistent and independent politician is compelled to obey its imperatives. A political party or election bloc is certainly a powerful and necessary instrument, if you like, a strike force in order to implement a dynamic and concentrated policy and achieve a goal.

At the same time the population's interests by no means always fit into the procrustean bed of a particular political platform, no matter how elastic the party leaders try to make it. The population's interests are "scattered" among various party lists. Whether we like it or not, in conditions of political pluralism, for all its obvious plus points, the nation is theoretically divided. Unfortunately, in Russia, with its traditional social and even literary divides and with its continuing taste for class struggle and therefore also for seeking enemies, and also in view of the explosive, often irrational Russian character, these natural political divisions which the men of the sixties dreamed of so much may weaken the nation's overall creative potential.

Today scarcely anyone except inveterate champions of Stalin's scenario for social development would claim that political pluralism is harmful. Its healing properties have been tested and proved in both Europe and America. However, it is not enough merely to admit the value of pluralism. It does not cover either all the nation's needs for self-expression, nor the needs of Russia's development [obustroystvo].

We need ideas and organizational forms which, rising above political differences, would enable the nation to resolve tasks that are not directly connected with politics, ideology, and power.

I think that a need has developed for a broad, nationwide, nonpolitical movement capable of resolving the tasks which, because of their objective necessity, parties (including opposition parties), trade unions, and the nonparty public would be prepared to support. We need a movement that could tap and organize for the good of Russia the energy of the millions of citizens who are "totally fed up with politics" and who do not want to link their participation in the development of Russia with either the liberal Gaydar, the regionalist Shakhray, or the communist Zyuganov.

This movement could be called "Clean Russia" ["Chistaya Rossiya"] and would operate under the patronage of the Russian president as a national symbol, a symbol above the party fray, a symbol of the country's unity and stability.

This movement would not set revolutionary goals of "transforming" Russia or implementing ambitious projects and programs. Its tasks would be more to "normalize" the country and bring it to human norms regarding lifestyle, daily life, culture, and education while relying extensively on historical experience and traditions and without either rejecting or absolutizing the values of European civilization.

It could be a public cultural and moral movement, but without tedious sermonizing or sanctimonious puritanism. It would exclude no one except extremist forces, and conservatives, liberals, socialists, and communists would all be able to work in it. Membership of a party would be no bar to nonparty work within "Clean Russia." This would be a movement trading not in promises, but in modest specific actions that would gradually cleanse the country of all the moral shame and ugliness which we have inherited from 70 years of forging the "new man."

As a non-business, non-profitmaking organization, the movement would naturally not set the aim of resolving specific economic and social tasks. But by its activity, primarily lectures and explanatory and cultural activity, it would create the necessary moral and social climate for achieving national goals at the interface between the economy, politics, and morality. For instance, helping to improve the demographic situation in the country, to restore the best ideals of the Russian family and Russian home, and to raise the young generation in the traditions of ethnic Russian and state Russian [russkiy i rossiyskiy] patriotism.

The Russian character is a contradictory and multifaceted phenomenon. Gogol, Dostoyevskiy, Chekhov, Kuprin, and Gorkiy all wrote about the labyrinths and "mystery" of the Russian soul. Russian philosophers from V. Klyuchevskiy to N. Berdyayev and K. Leontyev have investigated the sources of these contradictions. Most Russian historians and moralists have recognized that the Russian, the citizen of Russia, in order to avoid toppling into anarchy (for which he has rather a propensity) and "Russian bluster," needs a certain external disciplinary framework.

Nikolay Amosov, the well known Russian surgeon and thinker, voiced a very apt thought that reveals virtually the main reason for the failure of the communists' educational policy, which led ultimately to a profound decline in the morality of the people. "Ideology's main error (he is referring to the communist ideology) is the utopian notion that there are no limits to man's educability." Education and instruction have to be complemented by discipline. In many countries whose lifestyle we observe with envy the population voluntarily accepts social, moral, and everyday discipline. When such traditions and customs do not exist or else have been lost, as in our country, the state has to offer citizens a certain framework of behavior and insist strictly that it is complied with.

The task of disciplining the nation is one of the most complex state and social tasks. its resolution is directly connected with the problem of national renaissance and even security, for the Army needs a genetically strong, healthy, disciplined, and optimistic young generation, not the children of lumpens and persons of no fixed abode. "The will for culture and self-discipline must be pitted against drunken and benighted savagery in Russia," Nikolay Berdyayev wrote in his famous work "The Destiny of Russia" devoted to the mentality of the Russian people. The thought expressed at the beginning of the century is topical today.

I would like to make separate mention of the Russian worker.

K. Marx, formulating the ideology of communism, wrote in "The Communist Manifesto" that "workers have no country." The "Clean Russia" movement will overturn this ideological sophistry through all its activity. Before the revolution the Russian worker and the Russian muzhik were and felt themselves to be citizens of Russia, and honest labor was regarded as part of, as the yardstick of the people's dignity. This sense must be cultivated in the new, clean Russia.

Entry into the market economy, which is accompanied by an unbuttoned (and sometimes slapdash) approach on the part of the press, have revealed [plural verb as published] flaws in the Russian character that were driven deep inside by the iron discipline of the totalitarian state.

"It has emerged" that the Russian person is inclined to make money by dishonest means and where possible to rob, extort, speculate, and swindle. You may take issue with the remark by our famous philosopher K. Leontyev that a Russian can be holy, but cannot be honest. Without going in for such sweeping generalizations, it has nevertheless to be admitted that we are capable without a pang of conscience of stealing humanitarian aid, baby food, and medicines, swindling trusting pensioners, and shamelessly pluming ourselves on the blatantly stolen wealth.

We must honestly admit to ourselves that our society and our people are in a pre-civic state.

Unfortunately, our hopes for the educational role of the church are still not being vindicated. Having gotten rid of the fear of party committees, millions of former atheists have begun wearing crosses round their necks while displaying the most flagrant cynicism and swinishness in everyday life. The church is at present more of a fashion than a real guide for the people. The need for Christian cleansing has affected only a narrow stratum of intellectual young people and has had almost no impact on workers. Without denying the church's potential for moral education, I would not overestimate that potential.

The "Clean Russia" movement could become a civic university of morality by cooperating extensively with schools, the church, and local authorities in educating the people.

It is not a question of preaching and fostering apostolic ideals. We are talking about simple things. About eradicating drunkenness and foul language, about elementary respect for women, about protecting children and teenagers from the tempting filth with which the streets are so full today.

Americans, whom nobody in the world could imagine other than with a cigarette in their mouths, are today participating enthusiastically in an anti-smoking campaign enveloping the entire United States. The French, with their apparently congenital "libertinism" and tolerant view of "dangerous liaisons," are working very successfully to strengthen the family. The Japanese are conducting a nationwide campaign, which also embraces workers, for musical education in the belief that the rudiments of musical literacy make workers more receptive to a positive view of the contradictory world.

But our country, to the accompaniment of dubious nods in the direction of freedom and democracy, is being flooded with total license and dissipation. However, it is high time we realized, partly in view of the lessons of 3-4 October, that the democratic renewal of Russia has nothing in common with connivance with popular indiscipline. This renewal can and even must take place in tandem with the inculcation of a healthy conservatism in the people. Incidentally, this need for discipline and self-discipline is beginning to take possession of the "public mind." This is confirmed by the welter of letters in the president's mail demanding that "order be imposed," especially on the streets. Indirect confirmation of this is also provided by the fact that, according to opinion polls, a considerable proportion of Muscovites tended to want the curfew in the capital retained as naturally not an ideal, but at least some sort of "remedy" for the rampant theft, crime, and hooliganism.

The "Clean Russia" idea is not new. We are inventing neither a new religion nor a new ideology. It is a matter of applying in Russia the experience of creating a civil society not via politics, but via man, via his reason and heart, that is already being successfully employed in other countries.

This movement must not have designs on the state purse and must not become just another "foundation" breeding bureaucracy. It must be an independent, self-organizing movement based on citizens' initiative, on organs of local self-government, on Russian patriotic capital, and on conscience promotion by the Russian mass media.

And it would be extremely useful if the Russian president were to take the movement under his "wing."

Presidential Residence, Staff Premises To Be Refurbished

PM0411170393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "From KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's File"]

[Text] Another building was recently added to the general list of government buildings being refurbished. Plans are being drawn up for the complete restoration of the premises of the Russian Federation president's apparatus in the Kremlin. Unlike the White House, for whose restoration only 60 billion rubles will be needed, the president's apartments will require far more—after all, the 1749 building has not been refurbished since the revolution. Within about four to six weeks "Mospromstroy" [Moscow Industrial Construction Trust] will start replacing rotten floors and ceilings [perekrytiya] in it, replacing all equipment, and repapering the walls. Incidentally, it is planned to paint the building turquoise—the color of the Winter Palace. The residence of the Russian Federation president is incorporated in the project.

Exposure of Entrenched Communists Urged

PM0411150593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Stepanenko under the rubric "Letters to the Chief Editor": "Don't Demand A Good Life From the Authorities by Next Monday"]

[Text] Ulyanovsk—Try to buy copies of the magazines NOVOYE VREMYA or STOLITSA in the kiosks of Ulyanovsk, Nurlat, Ussuriysk, or Syzran. Ask for the latest edition of IZVESTIYA. They don't have them! On the other hand until recently there were always plenty of copies of PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Listen to oblast radio or television broadcasts in Kazan, Chelyabinsk, or Sakhalin—you forget what time it is outside.

The only newspaper in Ulyanovsk Oblast which constantly, without hesitation, supports the president is scarcely able to keep afloat under the capricious supervision of the local administration. On the other hand, other papers and newsletters steeped in badly disguised malice for the government live in clover.

Now that the combined antigovernment chorus of the "federation components" has sounded all over the country, however, surely it is clear what conditions those few employees of press, radio, and television everywhere who are not in harmony with that chorus have to endure?

Was the St. Petersburg radio commentator aware of this when he informed his listeners, with regret, that the dominance of one ideology in our country has only been replaced by that of another? The first green shoots of this "other" ideology have not yet managed to appear, yet on the radio the SOS is sounded: "Dictatorship! Censorship!"

In August 1991, to the tune of "Swan Lake," almost everywhere the main oblast bosses were singing one and the same temporizing song with the words "We must maintain calm."

Did many of them say then, clearly and concisely: "Put the criminals on trial"!?

In October 1993 the tune was different, but the words were exactly the same: "We appeal for calm..." However, they added, already confident of success: "We condemn the president!"

It would appear that our president still does not suspect how many "sincerely devoted" foes he has among the various rayon, city, and oblast bosses. Even among those whom he personally appoints and supports. Cowardly and evasive, they are more dangerous than open and honest opponents. At the decisive moment they keep quiet, "fall sick," or urgently go off to a distant region to save the harvest, and when it becomes clear on which side the scales are tipping they manage to telegraph assurances of love and devotion. The president believes them, pities them, forgives them, not knowing what satisfaction it would give any of them, given the chance, to knock the stool from under him.

But where are the local journalists who know this full well? They keep quiet. How is this? We have freedom of speech! Today, incidentally, you can understand and forgive them. After all, even today the majority of kolkhozes, factories, plants, depots, banks, schools, institutions, and communications, transport, construction, education, and militia administrations are still in the same hands as before. All the executive nooks and crannies at local level are still as infested with "has-beens" as with cockroaches. All kinds of chairmen and managers of the old communist cast, hiding behind reformist slogans, skillfully stall any attempt by the government to feed and clothe the people if it does not suit them personally.

The leaders of military enterprises form an impenetrable wall. They speak from rostrums about the absence of military doctrine. About a lack of support from the state and so forth. Well, let us dismiss 1,000, even 5,000 people! Our offices will not become colder or smaller from doing so. And our pay will not decrease. We have always made missiles and submarines and will continue to do so! If we have to make fewer, so much the easier for us. We will "get through the winter" all the same! Our time will come again. The threat of a fall in production or of thousands of people being laid off will not accelerate the assimilation of peaceful production processes at a military plant. The threat of the director or the main engineer and three or four of their deputies' being laid off, or at least having their pay cut appreciably, will work wonders. But at the moment, under the protection of the local bosses, they simply goad the people: You wanted Yeltsin, you wanted the democrats, so you suffer by them!

But never mind. Many ordinary people, led astray, curse the democrats, while the "has-beens" rub their hands and gently encourage their own local correspondents, who add their "independent" grist to the mill.

Soon, along with the obedient "soviets," they will be rid of those few deputies who can truly be described as people's deputies, who are like a presidential bone in their gullets.

Then, rest assured—they will put together electoral commissions of the "most experienced and proven people" and carry out work "in collectives to promote the most worthy candidates." And they will organize elections, this time without misfires and without the various local smart alecks.

Not for nothing did Ulyanovsk Deputy Kazarov warn at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress: "I venture to hope that Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] remembers me both as a deputy and as chairman of the oblast party executive committee, because he has twice dismissed me, notably over the State Committee for the State of Emergency... What do you think? Whom will the people elect in Ulyanovsk today (although I have not decided whether I will stand)? (It remained only for him to decide, and the rest was a technical matter—V.S.'s comment.) Boris Nikolayevich, in the present conditions you are going to get the kind of bicameral parliament in which 99 percent will right way refuse confidence in you."

People's Deputy Kazarov, today chairman of the Ulyanovsk branch of the Russian Savings Bank, knows whereof he speaks. You cannot deny his bluntness or awareness of the situation.

Today I found in my mailbox a well-produced, colorful poster (with a print run of 200,000) containing calls to subscribe to ZHIZN I EKONOMIKA, a newspaper founded by the Ulyanovsk Savings Bank. Printed in two colors. Eight pages. A six-month subscription costs two (2) rubles!

I will subscribe anyway. Not because the title contains a terrorist threat: "To Undermine Yeltsin and All His Gang of Yids," and not because of the cute ditties: "Elizabeth, Elizabeth/Just do what the democrats say/ Lie, cheat, steal, destroy/And don't get in their way." Simply because: Where else could you buy so much paper for 4 rubles a year?

How many of such oblast, city, and rayon "little PRAVDA's" are there in Russia as a whole? You can't use them all for cigarette paper.

Help the bewildered, embittered people to understand what is happening. Every day, tirelessly tell the truth about those who do not want to part with kolkhozes, and why, about those who do not want to, or cannot, convert huge, redundant, military plants and resources to people's use.

Seeing the light will not make bread instantly cheaper, but unless people see the light they won't get out of the mud and back onto the firm road. The criminal, covert communist propaganda in kindergartens, schools, and higher education establishments must be stopped. We must remove more quickly—at least partially—the bureaucrats who remain loyal to communist idiocy and who have eaten into the body of our state like worms.

Otherwise we will carry on demanding a good life from the government by next Monday, we will carry on playing at democracy with fascists, communists, and other national patriots, until some of them again get their claws into the people's throat and drive this people back into the old herd-mentality "bright future."

The economy cannot develop in a country where a huge number of inhabitants are ready to go to battle for communism under the red flag.

Military & Space Issues

Further on Grachev's 3 Nov News Conference

BR0411164793 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 Nov 93 p 14

[Report on Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's 3 November news conference with unidentified correspondents by Enrico Franceschini in Moscow: "Atomic Weapons—Russia Has Second Thoughts"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Grachev] The new military doctrine approved this week confirms that Russia does not consider any state as an enemy. It also rules out the use of force, except in self-defense. Our nuclear weapons are a political deterrent for preventing aggression.

[Correspondent] So is that a commitment not to use them?

[Grachev] We would not use them against a country that does not have nuclear arms, with two exceptions: First, if a country attacks Russia or its allies and it has a reciprocal aid pact with a country that does have nuclear arms. Second, if an alliance between a nonnuclear country and a nuclear country attacks Russia.

Military Doctrine

[Correspondent] Let us take the example of a country with nuclear weapons, such as the United States. In the past, the arrangement was that the USSR's nuclear weapons could only be used in response to a nuclear attack. Can you use them first today?

[Grachev] I repeat: Russia—with the two exceptions I mentioned—will not use its own nuclear weapons against countries that do not have nuclear weapons. The new military doctrine says nothing about countries that do have nuclear arms. Indeed, this is a new concept.

[Correspondent] Why do you renege on the agreement made by Brezhnev's USSR?

[Grachev] The USSR was another country, in another time. Russia is a different country, and times have changed.

[Correspondent] THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported that there is a supercomputer in Moscow capable of launching a nuclear attack without any human intervention. Is this true?

[Grachev] That is science fiction. I can guarantee you that the unauthorized use of nuclear arms is impossible, because our control systems are perfect. No single person can launch nuclear missiles, not even the president.

[Correspondent] The new military doctrine makes provisions for the use of the Armed Forces to restore order in the event of armed revolt. Would this decision be made after the Army has attacked the parliament with cannons?

[Grachev] The doctrine was prepared before 3 October, but the events of recent days highlight the correctness of our decisions. Russia's new situation has led us to plan for new functions to be carried out by certain units of the Armed Forces. For instance, they can be used—in addition to the regular police units—to deal with armed conflicts within the country.

[Correspondent] What about the use of the Armed Forces outside Russia, in the republics of the former USSR?

[Grachev] They may be used for peacekeeping operations. In our view, total nuclear war or a world war with conventional weapons are still highly unlikely, even if the possibility has not completely disappeared. For the time being, however, the major threat to peace and stability comes from regional and local conflicts.

A Tissue Of Lies

[Correspondent] The papers are saying that you will soon be replaced, since the president and prime minister are dissatisfied with your conduct: Apparently they had a hard time convincing you to order the assault on the parliament.

[Grachev] I can assure you that I will not hand in my resignation on 7 November, as reported in a Moscow newspaper. Moreover, neither Yeltsin nor Prime Minister Chernomyrdin have anything to complain about as regards the way the Defense Ministry is run. Those are all lies that have been circulated.

[Correspondent, Do you deny that the Armed Forces were uncertain and divided during the October crisis?

[Grachev] There were no disagreements whatsoever within the Armed Forces leadership. There was, however, a prudent attitude, cautiousness aimed at avoiding the worst. My colleagues made various proposals as to how to react, but they were all aimed at carrying out the task at hand, and that is what we did.

[Correspondent] Is it true that you think human rights should be a condition for withdrawing Russian troops from the Baltics?

[Grachev] Yes it is, and I think I am right. Within six months there will be no more Russian troops at all in the Baltics, if there are guarantees that human rights will be respected in those regions and that the Russian ethnic minorities will not be discriminated against. Lithuania has resolved the problem, and our troops have been completely withdrawn from its territory. Why do Latvia and Estonia not do the same?

[Correspondent] Will you allow Army officers to be elected in the new parliament, as was the case in the old parliament?

[Grachev] I personally have nothing against it. Everybody should busy himself with what he is good at: Let the military people take care of military matters, and let the politicians take care of politics. However, my personal opinion, which is just a recommendation, is that generals and officers who are candidates should not lose their rights in the Army.

[Correspondent] What do you think of expanding NATO to include the countries of Eastern Europe?

[Grachev] Applying to join is a domestic matter for sovereign countries, and something in which Russia will not interfere at all, although we do have our opinions about NATO. We do not share the idea that it should be expanded, since it is not a political alliance, but a political and military alliance. This means that it must resolve problems that are not just political, but also military. So, one should ask oneself: What is the purpose of adding new members to NATO? Against whom? However, we favor new forms of cooperation and a partnership between NATO, Russia, and the countries of Eastern Europe—something which is already under way.

Grachev Leads Armed Forces Exercise

PM0411164193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin report: "Russian Armed Forces Command and Control Exercise"]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Nov—An operational-strategic command post exercise in the command and control of the Russian Armed Forces is the final stage of Army and Navy training in 1993. It has been under way for three days now and will last until 5 November. The exercise is being led by Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister.

A feature of this planned exercise was that, as a result of the collapse of the former USSR, the Moscow Military District has to all intents and purposes become a border district, and operational-strategic exercises are being held under entirely new conditions in the district. Lieutenant General Leonid Zolotov, Moscow Military District chief of staff, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the Moscow Military District and a Russian Armed Forces large strategic formation administrative headquarters are taking part in the exercise.

Leonid Zolotov noted that the exercise was preceded by a preparatory stage and the defense minister ratified the plan for it, which envisages improving Armed Forces command and control. The exercise is rehearsing issues which could be raised during a "special period." The Russian defense minister is monitoring the progress of the command post exercise and holding hearings to note how officers and generals are reacting to changes in the situation.

According to Lt. Gen. Leonid Zolotov, Moscow Military District chief of staff, despite the complexity of the operational-strategic tasks set, work is proceeding in a calm atmosphere and "without any hassle."

Kokoshin, Koptev Appeal for State Support of Space Sector

PM0411164793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 1

[Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate report: "Space Industry Needs Support"]

[Text] Andrey Kokoshin, Russian first deputy defense minister, and Yuriy Koptev, Russian Space Agency general director, have sent proposals to Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers-Government, on state support for Russian space activity and backing for the national rocket and space industry.

According to the submitted document, carrying out work to develop and use military space equipment in the interests of ensuring Russia's defense capability and monitoring fulfillment of international arms and armed forces treaties is one of the main tasks of space activity in Russia in the period through the year 2000. [passage illegible]

Election Issues

Gaydar Calls For Alliance of Democratic Forces

LD0411155193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] A meeting between journalists and Russian First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar ended an hour ago in the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company building. Commenting on members of the Russian Government joining the election campaign, Gaydar noted that members of the Cabinet had decided for themselves, quote: We must concentrate on economic matters. End quote. Unfortunately, the first vice premier continued, even during the election campaign, the government is passing many politically unviable and extremely unpopular decisions.

Gaydar reported on the preparation of a package of laws and decrees on private ownership and also on the preparation of the legislative basis to implement the president's decree on land. The first vice premier called for an alliance of all democratic forces during the elections. You will hear a more detailed account of the meeting with Gaydar in our upcoming bulletins.

Yavlinskiy Criticizes Policies of Yeltsin, Gaydar

PY0211000193 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 24 Oct 93 p 34

[Interview with presidential candidate Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by "special correspondent" Deborah Berlinck in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Berlinck] What do you have to offer the Russian people that [Boris] Yeltsin and [Yegor] Gaydar haven't offered?

[Yavlinskiy] Yeltsin's and Gaydar's main object was to destroy the previous system. Their slogan was: "We will not go back." My slogan is: "Let us project Russia into the future." Their idea is destructive. They are only harvesting enemies. Those extremists we saw in the Parliament, that sort of person—fascists, communists—can be found anywhere, in German, in Italy...

[Berlinck] What is it you are proposing then? A reformed socialism, a moderate capitalism? If you do not want to destroy the past, what model do you want to implement in Russia?

[Yavlinskiy] I do not seek to preserve something. Everything that could be destroyed has been destroyed. I am not going to create a model for Russia. The country itself is going to create its own model. I do not intend to become an ideological and absolute leader as Lenin was. Russia is going to create its own model but for this it is necessary to know what productive model the country is going to follow. It is necessary to bring peace to the streets and to create a true federation in Russia, not by force, but by taking into account the natural interests of each region of the country. We must guarantee respect for human rights and not just talk about the subject like we have been doing since Stalin's times.

[Berlinck] How do you intend to do this?

[Yavlinskiy] It cannot be done overnight. If you were to ask people what happened to them during the past years, they undoubtedly will say they advocate a democratic future and a market economy. But the people wonder "why could people walk peacefully in the streets before and now it has become so dangerous?" Their answer is: "Life was probably not what it should have been, not so good, but at least we enjoyed some guarantees. We could plan our children's life." Currently we can't say anything and when we ask the president what type of state he is going to create, he answers: "It is too early to answer that question; we will achieve something when everybody stops being so lazy and starts working." The country is approaching the changes but is unable to make a move. Russia's hands and feet are bound.

[Berlinck] Who is benefiting from this?

[Yavlinskiy] The ones who currently benefit from this situation in Russia are the heirs of the totalitarian system. A small group establishes the prices; enterprise directors are establishing policies although they are not the owners; bureaucrats are establishing rules, as they did in the past; and nobody is assuming any responsibility. We now have what we had under a socialist economy but without a political party to control it. The government promoted the collectivization of the industries but nobody knows anything more about it: Who manages them; where is the money; who does the work? The directors continue to ask the state for money. They have created a unique barter system by which merchandise and services are exchanged without the need for money, thus creating a parallel flow of money that nourishes inflation and gets out of the Central Bank's hands.

[Berlinck] How do you intend to solve this problem?

[Yavlinskiy] Western experts believe deregulated prices mean a free market economy. But this is not enough. Nobody argues that deregulating prices is an important, unavoidable step, but—excuse me for what I am saying—it is not the most important thing for our economy. There is a market economy when there is a right to property, competition. If there is a monopoly and no competition, as is the case in Russia currently, we end up in this situation. The people, undoubtedly, find it hard to believe that the road (to a market economy) is so long. But I would like to point out that the Russian economy was never harmed by the economic plan. The economies of Poland, the Czech Republic, Eastern Germany were harmed by a planned economy. And this is why it is another story.

[Berlinck] Does this mean you believe in a sort of "Gosplan," that is, that the state centralize economic plans as was the case in the times of communism?

[Yavlinskiy] The Soviet economy is based on a centralized system. The change must be a deep-rooted change. The monetary policy, under current circumstances, is a secondary issue. As long as 100 percent of the property is in the state's hands, there is only one way to regulate the budget and stabilize the currency: by setting prices. Deregulating prices is only possible in a privatized economy, which is not the case in our country. My priority is to establish a right to property and reorganize the economy. Some things must be preserved to avoid hyperinflation. I am not saying I would set prices right now, but I would strive to change the structure of our economy toward a market economy.

[Berlinck] On several occasions Brazil implemented economic measures that entailed the freezing of prices and this led to hyperinflation.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, because in your case you tried to regulate prices in a privatized economy, and that does not work. Russia must find a solution. I am not saying that the state must control 10, 20, or 30 percent of the economy. The country's historic development will answer this question. What I do maintain is that a substantial portion of the economy must be privatized. The government is struggling against visible problems.

The economy must undergo a deep-rooted reorganization. If inflation reaches 60 or 80 percent it will cause chaos.

[Berlinck] Do you think this can be achieved in full democracy or should it be done, as some maintain, with a "light" [preceding word in English] dictatorship?

[Yavlinskiy] I wonder whether Parliament is the true problem. Who is responsible for what happened on the streets on 3 and 4 October? I think it was our past. We are now the victims of our mistakes in the economic policy. During two years Gaydar did nothing to reorganize our economy. Yeltsin and his government spent their time fighting with Parliament; this is all they did. The results of these mistakes was a tragedy. They spent two years doing nothing about Parliament and then tried to solve everything in one week. They tried to confront Parliament and were not even ready to do so, in military terms and all that. The entire country was at stake for 14 hours. [passage omitted]

[Berlinck] You will participate in the elections although you maintain that they will not be democratic.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes. I believe the elections will not be democratic because the person sitting in the presidential chair is giving orders and changing the election rules every day. I fear the new Parliament might not be legitimate. Moreover, I think these will be the last elections for a long time in Russia. But I need to participate in these elections. We are going to use all our strength to create a true parliament in Russia. I am forming a bloc with the Christian Democratic, Social Democratic, and Republican parties. They have agreed I will be their leader and will not impose any condition.

[Berlinck] How did you live in times of communism?

[Yavlinskiy] I was certified. I was not one of the main dissidents nor one of the ones who was worst off, but I had many problems.

[Berlinck] Did you ever believe the system would be changed?

[Yavlinskiy] When I was 19 I told my father about some of my ideas to modify the system because I believed it did not work. He listened to me for three hours and then said: There was once a man with a yellow complexion and the doctors thought he had hepatitis. They treated him for hepatitis all his life. When he died they discovered he was that color because he was Chinese. This story showed me that change was possible. We cannot reform; we must transform.

Borovoy Assesses Various Blocs

MK0411095093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 74, 4 Nov 93 (signed to press 3 Nov) p 2

[Gleb Cherkasov report under the "Businessmen" rubric: "Parties of Entrepreneurs Count Seats in Duma, But Mostly Hope for the Future"]

[Excerpts] Parties linked with entrepreneurial structures continue their electoral campaign. Konstantin Borovoy, leader of the "August" bloc, met with students and teachers of Moscow State University's journalism department. The well-known entrepreneur and politician was sufficiently sharp in assessing his competition. In his words, the leading "Russia's Choice" association consists of three groups that differ considerably on positions of principle—the liberals, socio-democratic oriented members of Democratic Russia, and pink-red directors—and which is going to crumble soon after the elections. Speaking about Yavlinskiy's and Shakhray's electoral associations, Mr. Borovoy characterized them as "blocs knocked together in a hurry, of whose positions one can only judge from their leaders' vague statements." The Economic Freedom Party [EFP] leader called upon his audience to choose organizations with settled programs.

Assessing his own chances in the 12 December elections, Konstantin Borovoy showed restrained optimism. In his words, "August" may score between 6 and 15 percent of the votes, but it would not be a major tragedy if the association does not make it to parliament at all, because "this would signify that society has not yet gotten rid of the sovok [a slang term for "soviet"] thinking, and is not ready to make a step toward freedom." Mr. Borovoy noted that the EFP enjoyed a broad-based support of young people. This alone inspires optimism, all the more so because "the creation of a normal economy will take decades." [passage omitted]

In all likelihood, business representatives are going to occupy a sufficiently large number of seats in the future State Duma. The strained relationship between the various groups of businessmen that have taken shape on business grounds, however, will also show in politics. Besides, it is not clear to which extent politicians who speak of their links with entrepreneurial circles really voice their opinion. Borovoy also had to admit that the Russian Commodities and Raw Materials Exchange and Russian Investment Joint-Stock Company not only support his election campaign, but also help his competition in the "August" bloc.

Campaigns of Electoral Blocs Viewed

PM0411160993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts roundup under the "Election Chronicle" rubric: "Party and Bloc Campaigning Begins"]

[Text] The main concern of the current week for all participants in the "election race" without exception has been to collect voters' signatures. We would recall that each electoral association and political party taking part in the elections needs to collect no less than 100,000 signatures. Those who have decided to run independently must win the support of at least 5,000 people. The deadline is 6 November (inclusive). Quite frankly, many people will be cutting it very fine.

Meanwhile, electoral clashes have begun between certain election associations. Probably the saddest aspect is that a splintering process has begun in many electoral associations, particularly in the regions. Thus, our correspondent Valeriy Usoltsev told us that supporters of the "Russia's Choice" bloc in Khabarovsk are unhappy about the federal list of candidates. In Irkutsk, according to an ITAR-TASS report, a "People's Russia" bloc has been set up in opposition to the government.

Our Sevastopol stringer reports that more than 70 percent of officers and 65 percent of warrant officers consider it inexpedient for servicemen to participate in the elections. The Black Sea Fleet Directorate for Work with Personnel yesterday held a conference of senior watch officers and deputy commanders of Black Sea Fleet forces and ships and garrison units on the organization and staging of the elections.

The following news has come in from Vladimir Maryukha, our correspondent in Vladivostok—voters' signatures are being collected here right in the city center, by the monument to the fighters for soviet power in the Far East. Under black-yellow-white, white-blue-red, and plain red flags, blocs and parties holding frankly opposite views have been coexisting peacefully here in the election campaign. In Vladimir's opinion, the citizens are far more interested in the street entertainers a short way away from the signature collection point, and are concerned about bread prices, which "shot up" yesterday. It is sad if that is so.

There has been contradictory information from a bloc opposed to the government. The Communists and their supporters, as is well known, had earlier unambiguously stated their desire to take part in the elections. Reports then appeared that they intended to boycott them. But the latest intentions of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] show the reverse to be the case. On 3 November the CPRF familiarized journalists with its election platform. Valentin Kuptsov, first deputy chairman of the CPRF, stated that 100,000 signatures had already been collected in support of the party.

Electoral Blocs' Actions Detailed

PM0411171393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Diary"]

[Text] The more farsighted politicians like Yegor Gaydar and Sergey Shakhray are calling upon "kindred" parties to form electoral coalitions in a bid to cut the list of blocs contending for seats in the State Duma to a more manageable number at least.

The disposition of political forces in the capital extends to Russia's regions. Fragmentation into electoral camps is also perceptible there. So it is that "Russia's Choice" supporters in Khabarovsk are dissatisfied with the federal list of candidates which, in their view, "contains candidacies dictated by the bloc's conciliation commission." In Irkutsk, a "People's Russia" electoral bloc standing in opposition to the government has been set up. And not only are supporters of Yavlinsky and Shakhray proving active in Krasnodar, but those of Zhirinovskiy too.

Against this background there is some understanding of the move undertaken by the Transbaykal bloc of "Russia's Choice," which lodged a protest Tuesday against scheduling elections to new organs of representative power in Chita Oblast for 12 December. According to the regional bloc, this move is designed so that the functioning oblast soviet might seize the initiative, while the democrats "will be unable to defend themselves on two fronts."

The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms has submitted to the Central Electoral Commission an all-federal list of candidate deputies for the State Duma.

The Movement for Democratic Reforms' list comprises 186 people from a little over 40 regions of Russia. It is led by Anatoliy Sobchak, Svyatoslav Fedorov, and Oleg Basilashvili.

The Central Electoral Commission is in receipt of the relevant documents from the National-State Party and the Movement of Independent Professionals. So it is that 31 electoral associations are now entitled to collect voters' signatures on all-federal lists for the elections to the new parliament.

The deadline for submitting lists of candidates together with nomination sheets to the Central Electoral Commission expires at midnight 6 November.

Economic Policies of Possible Future Governments Compared

PM0411120993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 1

[Article by Aleksey Kolesnikov under the "Forecast" rubric: "The Government of the Future. Its Composition in 1994 Will Depend on the Composition of Parliament"]

[Text] The formation of the new Russian parliament (possibly a "transitional" version) is happening at virtually the most crucial phase of economic reforms. But the radical retailoring of the legislative branch of power will also inevitably entail substantial changes deep within and "at the top" of the executive branch. Hence the pervading sense of the "temporary nature" of the present cabinet, the decisions—dubious from the point of view of formal democracy—on the combination of deputy and ministerial portfolios, and the formation of "ministerial" electoral blocs.

The composition of the Council of Ministers in 1994 will depend on the composition of parliament. If, as the "Russia's Choice" bloc expects, it gets one-third of the seats in parliament, it will most likely come down to a choice between Viktor Chernomyrdin and Yegor Gaydar. The chances of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy will depend on a slightly more patchwork distribution of seats in the Federal Assembly. A predominance of left-wing centrists will probably have the consequence of promoting Arkadiy Volskiy to the post of premier.

Looking at the problem of the future cabinet from the point of view of the economy, a Chernomyrdin government and a Gaydar government are roughly the same thing. The course of liberal economic reforms under Chernomyrdin has retained a "Gaydar algorithm," economic priorities have remained as they were, and virtually the same team of economists has worked on the formation and formulation of economic programs.

On the political plane, naturally, these figures differ. There are advantages both to Gaydar's "party affiliations" and to Chernomyrdin's lack of party membership. Chernomyrdin is undoubtedly a market-forces politician, but at the same time he is also a stabilization figure. Only radically-minded revolutionaries whose extremism has deprived them of the ability not only to see, but also to hear can fail to understand this.

If Gaydar becomes premier after all and "Russia's Choice" obtains a majority of seats in parliament, it will still not be possible to obtain a completely homogeneous government. After all, by the very nature of their activity, sector ministers cannot be pure monetarists. Indeed, in fact even in Gaydar's day the "fabric" from which the government was composed was extremely heterogeneous.

The measures envisaged by the present government are, according to the definition of Sergey Vasilyev, director of the Working Center for Economic Reforms, the measures of any rational government. However, there is rationality and rationality. Yavlinskiy is also a liberal and a rationalist, but his view of economic priorities is somewhat different. Moreover, for some reason Grigoriy Alekseyevich speaks of the government's program as if its existence had not yet been proven by science...

Yavlinskiy is inclined to switch round economic priorities: to put institutional transformations in first place instead of financial stabilization. But again, none of the government's economists plans to argue with him on this point of his program, since these processes should be carried out in parallel in the course of reform, and without financial stabilization there will be no institutional transformations, and vice versa.

In the event of Yavlinskiy's appointment to the post of premier, he will undoubtedly bring his own team into the government, and the "Nizhniy Novgorod prologue" will have an Russia-wide sequel. It is impossible to say right now whether this is a good or bad thing. One thing is obvious: The ways and methods of achieving the single strategic goal—the market economy—would be somewhat different.

Despite Arkadiy Volskiy's stated readiness to "privatize" Chernomyrdin, the leader of the left-wing centrists retains an independent political significance (and Chernomyrdin, who has adopted the "creed" of the Gaydarites, is unlikely to be keen on becoming the object of this type of political "privatization"). State capitalists, social democrats, and even communist-statists, that is, the whole left-wing political spectrum, some of whom are mistakenly called "centrists," can bank on Volskiy. In this case there will hardly be a coalition government. The idea of state regulation will ensure its heterogeneity, although elements of flirtation with the "white" entrepreneurial elite cannot be ruled out.

In order to form a rational government a rational and responsible parliament is necessary, one which should also ponder the ancient maxim: "Do not change horses in midstream."

European Liberal Democratic Party Submits Candidate List

LD0411210993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1449 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The European Liberal Democratic Party has referred to the Central Electoral Commission the list of its candidates to the state duma. It has become the 32nd association to earn the right to collect signatures of voters on federal lists, Valeriy Krasnyanskiy, member of the Central Electoral Commission's group for liaison with public associations, told ITAR-TASS.

There are only some 30 candidates on the party's list. It was registered in January last and it aims at creating a civilian rule-of-law state. The party's leader is Vladimir Bogachev.

Only three days remain to go before the expiry of the term for referring lists with signatures to the Central Electoral Commission. Some organizations, for instance, "Russia's Women" and "Kedr" (Cedar) have already collected the required 100 thousand signatures and intend to refer the documents for the registration on Thursday [4 November]. The canvassing will then begin.

Young Republicans Quit Election Campaign

MK0411140093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 74, 4 Nov 93 (signed to press 3 Nov) p 2

[Oleg Glebov report under the "Outsiders" rubric: "Young Republicans Have Run Out of Money and Time To Collect the Missing Half of Signatures"]

[Text] On 3 November, the Union of Young Republicans conceded that it would not be able to collect the 100,000 signatures that are required for a party to be included in electoral lists and announced a cessation of its independent election campaign. According to

Aleksandr Morozov, leader of the Young Republicans, a lack of money and time prevented the party from conducting a more successful campaign. They did not manage to form an alliance with other youth associations, either—owing to both ideological differences and the "unscrupulousness" of some organizations that tried to exploit the elections for their commercial benefit. The experience they gained and the capabilities they displayed in collecting 50,000 signatures, however, will enable the union to do better in the next elections, Aleksandr Morozov said. For the time being, however, members of the Union of Young Republicans are intent on working on the teams of other, more successful, associations.

Describing the course of the current election campaign as "a competition of tight purses," the Young Republicans expressed their regret that it is not "new people" who will enter the Duma, but already "exposed" political leaders, who will turn the parliament into an ongoing political rally, and in a few months it will be no different from the Supreme Soviet, 1993 vintage.

Rumyantsev Condemns 'Dirty' Campaign Methods

MK0411134093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 1

[Aleksey Kalmykov report under the "In Brief" column: "He Will Not Bow to Arbitrariness"]

[Text] Oleg Rumyantsev, "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress" candidate for the State Duma, protested yesterday "against the dirty methods of electoral struggle." "Despite the authorities' illegal actions in regard to undesirable candidates, however, I am not going to bow to arbitrariness," Mr. Rumyantsev stated.

Shoygu Decides Against Running in Elections

LD0411202793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations, decided not to run for parliament. Rationalising this decision in an interview with ITAR-TASS, he said he has to be ever ready for work to prevent and cope with emergency situations.

Shoygu was nominated candidate to Russia's supreme legislative bodies by a number of parties and movements, enterprises, and public organisations.

Funding, Media Coverage of Campaigns Examined

PM0411153393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 93 First Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Shalnev article under "The Choice Facing Russia" rubric: "Money and Television: Their Role in the Elections Will Be Enormous"]

[Text] "I cannot give you the exact figure right now but it will not be a small sum, not a small sum at all," replied Vladimir Gusinskiy, general director of the "Bridge" ["Most"] group, when I asked him how much money the group is going to spend supporting the candidates and blocs of candidates that it wants. "We will spend exactly as much as is needed, strictly within the framework of the law, of course," Gusinskiy added, "to ensure success for the people we support."

IZVESTIYA has already published a report on the calculations of experts who have tried to assess, albeit approximately, how much victory in the forthcoming elections to the Federal Assembly will cost. It turned out that $30 million or, to be precise, the equivalent sum in rubles, is the minimum that political blocs who hope to win a majority in the future parliament and, of course, those who support these blocs financially must be prepared to spend.

And there are willing backers around. There is not one more or less large, medium, or small entrepreneurial grouping—or even a basic cell—which is standing aside today, or can even afford to stand aside today, from a political struggle which is now becoming a civil form of campaign skirmish.

"Bridge"—it would be no great exaggeration to call it one of the largest financial and production concerns in post-perestroyka Russia, if not the largest—is prepared to support four blocs in the elections—"Russia's Choice," Shakhray's bloc, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, and to judge from Gusinskiy's own remark ("I like Borovoy")—"August" too

As I understood it from my conversation with the "Bridge" general director, in principle his political sympathies may in fact be considerably broader and embrace many of those in the election marathon with the absolute exception, in Gusinskiy's words, of the "hopeless reds and Zhirinovskiy."

But I believe that, when expressed in monetary terms, those sympathies will be spread very unevenly and will extend "at most" to the first four.

The question remains: How much will it take?

I am not sure that we will be able to extract even an approximate figure if the financiers, be they from "Bridge" or some other completely unknown limited liability company, do not want to tell us. We have no law which would force them to divulge the figure on pain of dire punishment for withholding information: The chapter on financing the election campaign and the Statute on Elections are inadequate—they are really easy to circumvent.

Nor, regrettably, is there a law which would require candidates to give a really detailed account of their "financial background," that is, to tell the voters how much they, the candidates, are worth: what their status is, what sources of income they have, how much tax they have paid, and so on. I am almost certain that there will be very, very few people who will copy the example of Sergey Shakhray, who last week published information on his income in our newspaper.

I personally really admire what Shakhray did. But in my view he is unfortunately somewhat premature, given the prevailing reality here: The 1993 election campaign could simply be transformed into an arena for political vendettas.

It seems to me that we should reconcile ourselves to the fact that the election campaign, the laws which regulate it, and the parliament which will be created on the basis of its results are extraordinarily far from perfect because Russian democracy in its present form is also extremely imperfect.

In four years' time—or, better still, in two years—when, according to the proposal of some blocs, parliament will be reelected, the criteria of the campaign should be qualitatively different: Shakhray's action should no longer be the sensational exception but the norm. To try to improve things now that the election process is already underway serves no particular purpose, and anyway there simply isn't the time for it.

Let us work on the assumption that there will be no equality between candidates and blocs, that given the will and a certain degree of ability some blocs will find themselves weighed down by sacks of cash whereas others will have to make do with peanuts, and that we shall see some candidates on television all the time whereas others will never be seen at all, or only fleetingly.

Here is a simple example: The Statute on Elections says that "the total contribution of a legal person may not exceed the minimum wage by a factor of more than 200" with regard to the financing of a candidate or by a factor of more than 20,000 in the case of financing an electoral association. But within the major Russian corporations there may be tens or even hundreds of legal persons, and so if the "Bridge" group, for example, exceeds that ceiling tens or even hundreds of times over it will be acting in strict accordance with the law. And then, the Statute on Elections is so amorphous and vague that, while financing a bloc as a whole, a political donor will be entitled to contribute an unspecified amount of money to individual candidates of that bloc or even to all the candidates. In other words, you can invest any amount you like so long as you've got it.

As for the "Bridge" group, it is hardly going to finance all the candidates of its preferred blocs because "Bridge" clearly dislikes some of the candidates—in "Russia's Choice," for example. Poltoranin, for instance.

Why? Here we are dealing with a theme which ought not to be connected with the election campaign but undoubtedly is connected with this campaign—the theme of control over television. "Bridge," as we all know, is the co-owner of Independent Television [ITV], which **headhunted** some very capable staff from channel one—although not all of the **headhunted** are top quality, there are some real duffers there—but has been forced to make do not with channel one or even channel four but a channel with a limited audience, namely St. Petersburg. "Forced to make do"—that is an exaggeration, of course: "Bridge" is campaigning for wider mass exposure for ITV and to ensure that its programs are switched from St. Petersburg television to channel four at the very least.

The leader of "Bridge" and co-owner of ITV is convinced that Poltoranin is opposed to that idea: Poltoranin reminds Gusinskiy of a "Central Committee ideology secretary who has decided what everyone else needs, when they need it, and why. The time for such people passed long ago. Or has it?"

I do not and cannot know all the details of and all the reasons for this confrontation, but I want to draw attention to a number of points: First, programs from private television studios on channel four and even channel one are no longer a rarity; a precedent has thus been set. Second, politically this confrontation is counterproductive—at any event that is true in the present election campaign when the people backing channels one and four and ITV are in principle supporting one and the same set of candidates to the Federal Assembly, first and foremost "Russia's Choice."

And third, it is absolutely clear that the state monopoly of the nationwide channels cannot be maintained indefinitely. The sooner compromise is achieved the more rational it will be—both politically and financially. I do not believe that "Bridge" and the other co-owners of ITV will make do with a "second-rate product," having invested $30 million in their brainchild "just for starters." And then, to be frank, it would be naive to expect that the election candidates who are successful not without the support of what the Americans call "interest groups" will disregard those interests in their legislative activity, including that activity connected with the development of the electronic mass media in Russia. In other words, I can well envisage the appearance of a draft law on the reduction of the state's television monopoly.

I have asked—and continue to ask—many experts, as well as the politicians and financiers themselves, what return the financiers expect to get from the politicians after the elections. The answer most frequently given is very simple: No one would give money to candidates whose campaign political aims did not suit the people providing the money. Therefore the question of "repayment" is in principle an academic one.

Well, on the understanding that there would be "no citing sources," some financiers and some politicians did agree that there is, of course, no such thing as a free lunch: Those who paid will receive the services; those who were paid will consider themselves obligated to render those services.

What is surprising about this? All parliamentary life in America is built on this....

It has come to our attention that the news and sociopolitical programs which are transmitted on the five channels that can be received in Moscow (including St. Petersburg television) are being subjected to the most thorough and detailed scrutiny. This is being carried out by experts from the Commission on Radio and Television Policy, an independent research organization which includes specialists from the United States and the CIS countries. Its cochairmen are ex-president Jimmy Carter and Eduard Sagalayev. From 1 November this monitoring will be extended to programs in Kazan, Voronezh, Stavropol, Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, and Yekaterinburg.

One aim of the study being carried out is to determine the degree of neutrality or, conversely, tendentiousness of analysts and program moderators in their coverage of the election campaign.

Once a week the commission will present the results of its studies and, for example, publish information on the relative airtime given over in the preceding seven days to particular parties or candidates.

As Ellen Mickewiecz, director of the commission and professor at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, told me, this information will be available to anyone who wants it—all they have to do is call Moscow 241-60-50 and speak to Vsevolod Vilchek, the project director.

The project is costly, and I know the sources of its financing, although at the moment I can only tell you that a quarter of the money invested in it comes from America and is quite separate from the $5-$10 million that Secretary of State Warren Christopher promised to assist with the Russian elections.

TV Program Cited for Breaching Election Campaign Rules

PM0411165193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Decree No. 16 of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the Federation Council and to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly "On the 'Public Opinion' Television Broadcast of 27 October 1993," signed by N. Ryabov and V. Zagulyayev, respectively chairman and secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, and dated Moscow, 30 October 1993]

[Text] On 27 October 1993 the "Public Opinion" television broadcast, in which the leaders of a number of electoral associations took part—G. Zyuganov, V. Zhirinovskiy, A. Sobchak, Ye. Gaydar, and K. Borovoy—went out live on channels of the Russian state television and radio company "Ostankino."

The Central Electoral Commission notes that the television broadcast took place in a spirit of respect by its participants for each other and the viewing audience, and that it was notable for its civility and lack of confrontation.

At the same time the Central Electoral Commission notes that this television broadcast is election campaigning, which, under Article 30, Paragraph 1 of the Statute on Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993, can be carried out only from the day the candidate for deputy has been registered or the federal list of candidates nominated by an electoral association has been registered. At the time the broadcast went on the air this requirement had not been met by a single electoral association whose leaders took part in the election campaigning.

The Central Electoral Commission decrees:

The attention of the leaders of the Russian state television and radio company "Ostankino" and of other mass media is drawn to the need to rigorously comply with the Statute on Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993 as regards observing the prescribed time limits for carrying out an election campaign.

[Signed] N. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
V. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
[Dated] Moscow, 30 October 1993

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Promises Nonpartisan Coverage

PM0511082793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Election Campaign Must Be Conducted Honestly, By Civilized Rules"]

[Excerpts] Plenty is being written and said about the coming elections, but the real election campaign has not in effect begun as yet. What we have is a kind of prelude: Organizational issues are being decided and signatures collected. But you can be sure that we will shortly all be in the thick of election campaigning and publicity... Whereas some people are now complaining that they do not really know who is taking part in the elections, I do not think that there will be a shortage of this kind of information in the near future: A fight between programs and candidates will begin... Does one have to say how important it is for all election participants to have equal opportunities in this struggle.

For perhaps the first time in our history the Russian President's Edict "On Information Guarantees for Participants in the 1993 Election Campaign" makes an attempt to somehow regulate this problem. [passage omitted].

In accordance with legislation, political campaigning on troop unit territory is forbidden.

In view of this delicate element and the fact that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is read in every barracks, we will refrain from publishing political publicity. We will also refrain from campaigning for particular politicians and particular election blocs.

We think that in the present conditions we should mainly concern ourselves with providing our readers with information about the course of the election campaign, its participants, and their approaches and views on resolving particular problems in the country, including the Armed Forces. The concrete choice is made by people themselves.

Problems Faced by International Observers Described

MK0411132093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 74, 4 Nov 93 (signed to press 3 Nov) p 3

[Vladimir Todres report: "Observation of Observers"]

[Text] It was clear from the very start that it will be impossible to do without international observers in these elections. Because, no matter what might be said, everyone willing has a whole lot of reasons for questioning the fairness of the current "free expression of will:" preparations for the first multiparty elections in the lives of three generations have to be packed into two months (two weeks out of which were taken away by the state of emergency). The rules of the game instituted by the edict (just like the rules for the existence of the future parliament) have already been revised several times—also on the president's orders.

The observer corps, as it transpires, will prove to be fairly numerous and will represent a great number of various organizations. The European Parliament alone is planning to send 26 deputies for this purpose and a yet undetermined number of functionaries. And then there is also the European Commission, the Council of Europe, the United Nations....

The main problem is that apparently both in Russia and outside no one yet knows what specifically this entire contingent should be doing.

Many officials agree that the danger of fraud is higher in the agrarian regions of southern Russia, in a number of republics in the Povolzhye area, and in the Kuzbass. Presidential political adviser Sergey Stankevich said recently that Russia will need—probably even more than the observers who will share their impressions with the world at large after 12 December—experts on election methodology who will help the authorities during the campaign itself to keep it within the bounds of propriety. At the same time Europarliament members who have specially come to the country, dismayed, were asking local journalists for advice as to how to ensure oversight of equal access to TV for the competitors if the leaders of one of the blocs are regularly appearing in news programs not as candidates to the Duma, but as key newsmakers on an ex- officio basis. And whether the arrival of observers to the above regions will not provoke accusations of partisan bias: After all, these territories have until now been the main buttress of the anti-Yeltsin opposition.

Meanwhile, within the Russian establishment a competition is under way among the bodies wishing to take sole charge of organizing the presence of this international corps in the country. Its essence was described back in Durenmatt's [as transliterated] "Reflections on Those Observing the Observers"—he who coordinates observation not only oversees it but also derives quite tangible material benefits.

The special department created by the Foreign Ministry under Viktor Komplektov (who, incidentally, was pinning great hopes on Russia's Choice), by the admission of some highly placed officers in the presidential administration, has now been virtually isolated from this work by Nikolay Ryabov's Central Electoral Commission [CEC]. One of the CEC's first moves in this sphere was an enormous list of office equipment requested from the EC by way of assistance for free elections. The number of computers on it, according to a European Parliament deputy, ran into hundreds while the less sophisticated equipment was in the thousands. The EC was somewhat surprised. The list shrank a little. The functionaries from the Ryabov commission, according to the same deputy, admitted that in making that request, the CEC was thinking not only of itself but also of a number of "reliable industrial and commercial structures at the local level."

After taking a close look at all of this, Yves Galland, chairman of the Europarliament's liberal faction, told me before his departure: "The outcome of the elections is unpredictable. The observers will be in an extremely difficult position. But observation is necessary."

'Bankrupt' Politicians' Electoral Activities Scored

PM0411131793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Chugayev (Moscow), Viktor Kostyukovskiy (Kemerovo), and Boris Bronshteyn (Kazan): "Bankrupt Politicians Aspire To Be Part of New Parliament"]

[Text] The last months of the work of the former Russian Supreme Soviet are still fresh in people's minds: At that time, any proposals made by the president, even those which constituted the biggest compromises, were rejected out of hand, so to speak, by a majority of votes. Simply because they were the president's proposals. Here we have a paradox—today the same former deputies from the so called "hardline opposition" have thrown themselves with such zeal into fulfilling the edict of the president—whom they deposed—on elections to the Federal Assembly that they have surpassed many of B. Yeltsin's long-standing supporters.

As in the recent waiting line for parliamentary microphones, to the fore again—this time among the contenders for seats in the future Federal Assembly—we have the well-known main characters in the political farce which was played out over a period of many months within the walls of the Russian Supreme Soviet. A farce which grew into a tragedy. The leading lights among the "hardliners," thanks to whose stubborn and single-minded efforts any possibility of dialogue between the executive and legislative powers was destroyed, provoked that most acute political crisis which ended in the bloody October events. Again we see before us S. Baburin, N. Pavlov, V. Astafyev, V. Sevastyanov. And wandering around collecting voters' signatures are the leaders of the former "Smena" faction, whose favorite pastime (so they themselves said) was a "presidential safari"—torpedoing, purely for sport, absolutely any initiative from Yeltsin.

Today, as we can see, they are with all seriousness continuing to consider themselves highly responsible politicians who have the right to return to the solution of state problems.

A. Tuleyev, Yu. Golik, T. Avaliani, and Others

In Kemerovo, nomination lists are being compiled to back the nomination of A. Tuleyev, former oblast soviet chairman, for a seat on the Federation Council.

About two weeks before this, in an interview with SIBIRSKAYA GAZETA, he categorically stated: "I consider these elections to be unlawful.... It is beneath my dignity to participate in these elections. I cannot go against my beliefs...." So what made Tuleyev go against his beliefs? It turns out that it was the circumstance that elections to the local organs of power were postponed and all his "intentions had been concentrated on the elections to the oblast soviet."

Tuleyev has been nominated by the oblast Council of the Federation of Trade Union Organizations Council and the Kuzbass Veterans' Council. They are also supporting Candidate of Legal Sciences Yu. Yevtyukhin, who was, in the recent past, an adviser to the former oblast soviet chairman.

Yu. Voronin

Yuriy Voronin, former first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, about whom there has been practically no news for a whole month, has turned up in Kazan.

He told your IZVESTIYA correspondent that, following the tragic October events, he was ill for a long time, and is now trying to get his bearings in the new political situation. Voronin intends to return to active political life, but does not want to tie himself to any parties, movements, or blocs. He proposes to run for the State Duma on a territorial basis. Specifically, by representing his native Tatarstan, for which, according to him, he did a great deal as a deputy.

There have been rumors that Voronin was on the wanted list, like Anpilov. Is this true?

As Aleksandr Mikhaylov, chief of the press service of the Security Ministry's Moscow and Moscow Oblast Administration, told the editorial office, only two arrest warrants remain in the department—for A. Barkashov and I. Malyarov. There is no corresponding document for Voronin.

At the request of the editorial office N. Vishnyakova, an employee of the Public Relations Center, asked investigators from the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office about this. They answered that they do not give out information of this sort, as is allowed by Article 139 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Two Competitors for State Duma Seat Profiled

LD0411144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1151 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Palaria]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—Aleksandr Minkin, observer of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS daily, competes with Aleksandr Krasnov, former chairman of Moscow's Krasnaya Presnya district executive committee in Moscow's 202nd central electoral district for the election to the state duma, the lower chamber of parliament. Readers' mail, especially after the October events in Moscow, suggested to him the idea to run for the new Russian parliament as an independent candidate. Krasnov reportedly helped hard-liners holding the parliament building during the rebellion.

Minkin sympathises with Yavlinskiy but believes he can work fruitfully in parliament on his own programme. He told ITAR-TASS he believes Russia should be indivisible. Withdrawal of a republic from the Russian Federation is unconstitutional.

Minkin would like parliamentary activities to be conducted in the open. He intends to promote extensive and truthful coverage of parliament's work. There way also be closed-door meetings to look into security problems and matters that constitute state and military secrets.

Poll on Electoral Blocs Reported

MK0411133093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 2

[Oleg Savelyev report under the "Social Barometer" column: "What Voters Would Like to Know"]

[Text] The All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion conducted a poll in late October of 1,600 inhabitants of Russia, representative of the Federation's urban population. The answers to one of the questions in the survey, "What would you like to get to know first and foremost in the course of the election campaign about the political blocs taking part in the elections?," are in percentages.

Blocs' programs	29
To hear discussions between the leaders	21
To hear leaders of these blocs speak	14
Candidates' biographies	9
Other things	2
I am not interested in all this	16
Hard to answer	9

Economic Issues

Gaydar Outlines Fiscal Policy Priorities

PM0511144893 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Nov 93 pp 1-2

[Article by Yegor Gaydar: "There Is Hope of Stable Work Next Year"]

[Text] The government's most pressing problems are now associated with the elimination of the most acute financial disproportions that have developed in 1993. From 1 November, import subsidies have been lifted, with the exception of subsidies on medical supplies. As you know, an edict has been issued on ending the granting of concessionary credits, bread prices have been frozen, and a number of government decisions that were particularly dangerous from the viewpoint of financing them have been repealed—such as the decisions on index-linking capital investments in the fourth quarter, on advancing capital investments, and others.

What must be done for the longer term?

The government has gained room to maneuver with extra-budgetary funds—a decision in principle has been adopted on integrating extra-budgetary funds into the budget. Apparently an edict will be prepared on also integrating into the budget those funds that were formerly under the control of the Supreme Soviet. We have spent a lot of time clarifying the real financial position of these funds and the reserves available there. There were particularly serious problems with the social insurance fund—its financial position still has to be finally clarified. There were also problems with the pension fund.

In any case, I am confident that from 1 January 1994 we will have more scope for maneuvering in financial policy. We have gained the opportunity to mobilize the Central Bank's resources, which makes it possible more or less reliably to control the situation in the fourth quarter and offer some hope of stable work in 1994.

The most complex question in 1994 is the distribution of taxes among budgets at various levels. Here we cannot wait for the State Duma to start work because the fiscal year begins 1 January and by that time we must be clear about the distribution of taxes. Therefore it will obviously be necessary to adopt at least a temporary presidential edict, and then ratify it. The Finance Ministry's general proposals are fairly well known: a switch to the distribution in standard, fixed proportions of income tax (20 percent to the federal budget) and value added tax (no final figure as yet); the allocation of profit tax for payment solely into the federal budget on the basis that the regions are granted the possibility of varying the rate of profit tax within a specified limit of, say, 35 percent; and the freezing of budget support for subsidized regions, in order to escape in 1994 the chronic problem of hard bargaining with 88 regions over who must pay how much and what norms should be set. This is a very important step toward normal federalization.

As for the guidelines for 1994-1995 in general, we believe we should seek a reduction in state expenditure and expenditure from extrabudgetary social funds to a level of approximately 40 percent of GDP, compared with 53 percent in the first half of 1993. Tax contributions and contributions to extrabudgetary funds should be reduced to approximately 36.5-37 percent, compared with the current 45 percent of GDP. Those are our long-term guidelines. As for when we will be able to achieve these figures, that has still to be calculated, but the figures are entirely realistic.

It is proposed to draw up a range of normative acts on the taxation of natural resources, real estate, and land. This is groundwork which will enable us in 1995, if everything goes well, gradually to reduce the rate of inflation and replace taxes on income with taxes on resources.

The second area in which we have begun work is the liberalization of foreign economic activity and the lifting of the restrictions there were in this area. Two decrees on export tariffs, quotas, and licensing were finally signed on 1 November. We have not yet succeeded in solving all the problems at this stage, but all the same we have approximately halved export tariffs and drastically reduced the list of goods subject to export tax and the lists of goods subject to quotas and licenses. Basically petroleum and petroleum products, certain types of nonferrous metals, and fish remain on the list, and wheat and sunflower seeds are back on the list. That is virtually all the items on which it is proposed to impose quotas next year.

As for import tariffs, there are two options, drawn up by the State Customs Committee and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Here there are pleasing aspects as well as great dangers. We have finally reached the point where import tariffs must be introduced in order to protect our own country's producers. That is pleasing, because it is evidence that events are developing as they should, but at the same time it is very dangerous. Today our import economy is still one of the most open, and that is a major asset. But it would now be possible very quickly and easily to turn it into one of the most closed, by imposing a wide range of quantitative and tariff restrictions. Therefore, on the basis of fiscal and protectionist considerations, we will certainly increase import tariffs on a whole range of products. But we are categorically opposed to excessively high tariff barriers, in excess of 40-50 percent. In general everything should be in the range of 5-15 percent, with higher figures being reached only in isolated, exceptional cases where this is financially expedient and sensible from the viewpoint of structural policy. This is the line we will seek to pursue in our work on import tariffs in 1994.

A word about privatization problems. The changes that have taken place have lifted the burden of uncertainty that used to hang constantly over the future of privatization and the privatization program, and in a sense they have opened up the way for peaceful work. The first and simplest decision is to extend the operation of the existing mechanism to 1 July 1994. The second is the adoption of a government privatization program. Among the important documents adopted recently, I would mention the Edict on the Protection of Stockholders' Rights. This contains one rather significant innovation. The crux of it is that the most important obstacle to the genuine realization of the rights of property owners, particularly outsiders, in our situation was the fact that the register of stockholders was kept by the enterprise itself. In simple terms, the director could just say: I'm not letting you in, who do you think you are? With this edict we hand over the registers of major joint-stock companies to an external depository, which considerably increases the opportunities for influence and control. We have formulated several edicts like this, which are not revolutionary, but resolve important technical problems. I hope they will be adopted in the near future; they include an edict on the procedure for dealings in privatization checks.

A word about some significant decisions in the production sphere. We have decided not to discuss new federal programs in the government for the time being. Inventarization of these programs shows quite clearly that the appropriations they stipulate are several times greater than the actual predicted potential of the federal budget. Therefore we are now working to bring all this into line with common sense, and have temporarily put a stop on the drafting of new federal programs until we have sorted out in our own minds what we can actually support and finance in 1994-1995.

In the housing sphere, we have drawn up a fairly large package of new normative documents. This begins with the decree that has already been adopted, on the phased transition to a system of compensation for tenants' expenditure on the maintenance of the housing stock. An edict on extrabudgetary funds for the financing of housing construction is about to come out. Its main idea is to set up a mechanism to protect savings intended for housing from inflation. This package as a whole is oriented toward developing a market in the housing sphere. Later all these provisions will be regulated by laws.

There is a very serious dilemma today: on the one hand, the passionate desire speedily to adopt normative documents to change the particularly unpleasant, particularly harmful, and particularly tiresome provisions of existing laws, and on the other the reluctance to use edicts to intervene in legislation on a large scale. Here, unfortunately, there is no general solution; a choice has to be made each time. For instance, with the edict on land, after lengthy discussion, we decided it would be wrong to postpone this matter until the State Duma is convened, but on tax legislation I am still resisting attempts to use edicts on a large scale to start changing tax legislation, because I believe this is a bad precedent. It is a normal parliamentary matter which should be decided by parliament, but all the same, we hope that in two or three months we will be able to complete work on a package of basic legislation and submit it for ratification by the State Duma. The most important aspect of this is the draft new Civil Code. We have discussed the first part of it in the government. In my view it is a good document. In December we will discuss the second part, and then we will submit it to parliament. In my view nothing is more important than the Civil Code. After that, the need for a great many individual economic laws will recede.

Another significant normative act that is soon to appear is the edict on the reform of state enterprises. It is very simple in essence. It involves a clear definition of the criteria under which an enterprise remains a state enterprise, and very rigorous norms for regulating its activity. Basically we are proposing that state enterprises become institutions: with an appointed director, tariffs, control of wages, control of expenditure, payment of profit into the budget, state responsibility for commitments, and so forth. Those that do not like this or whom it does not suit, must be made to go over to the joint-stock system. In this way we will clarify the situation, because it is the enterprises that are most out of control today.

Fedorov Optimistic on Currency Stabilization

LD0411181793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev, with recorded remarks by Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Vladimir Perfilyev] Today Russian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Boris Fedorov once again expressed his confidence that the exchange rate for rubles [R] to the U.S. dollar will not exceed R1,200 this year. The minister announced this during a news conference at which he talked about the government's draft statement on economic policy for the end of the current year and for next year, to be submitted to the International Monetary Fund. The statement is being drawn up so that [Russia can] receive systematic [sistemnyy] credit to the tune of $1.5 billion, Boris Fedorov said. The main task for government policy is to reduce inflation to between one and three percent by the end of next year. Boris Fedorov said he is confident that next year the average Russian wage will be equivalent to $250-300.

[Fedorov] If today's rate [of exchange] continues, we will more or less have currency stabilization. If we can introduce good interest rates, after which we will be able to give investment incentives, I think that, in principle, by next year, when there should be less political tension, I hope, all the signs in the economy indicate that there will be real growth as expressed in dollars. This does not mean that life will be a lot easier. You understand that exchange rates do not mean an automatic improvement in living standards. But it will mean that we are gradually catching up with world standards; and the faster the better.

Questions Central Bank Actions

LD0411221893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] If you believe that the time for all kinds of exposures has already ended then you are wrong. In our country there always is room for such a kind of sensation. Only is it a sensation? - we must question this. If only because these sensations have been occurring of late where nothing has been happening. On Thursday Russia's Finance Minister Boris Fedorov was expected to make an important government statement. He did make this statement which initially was devoted exclusively to the Government's economic strategy, but then...Well, let's not run ahead. Regina Lukashina has the story.

[Lukashina] The main tenet of the government statement boils down to the following: The fight against inflation remains the main aim. In January it should amount to 15 percent and drop to 2-5 percent by the end of 1994. The budget deficit in the fourth quarter will amount in total to some 5.5 trillion rubles [R]. In 1994 the government intends to consolidate in the budget all subsidies to support agriculture and the northern territories to discontinue completely the system of preferential credits. The Finance Minister also stated that by means of interventions the exchange rate of the dollars will not be controlled but only smoothed and by the end of the year would amount to R1,200 per dollar, no more. The exchange rate has stabilized and has not been changing ever since June. In Boris Fedorov's view this means that that gap between domestic and world prices is closing quickly.

Then Boris Fedorov stated that the policy of Russia's Central Bank has of late been causing perplexity to say the least. Without the knowledge of the Finance Ministry large amounts of money were handed over to the former Supreme Soviet. Here is what Boris Fedorov himself said.

[Begin Fedorov recording] I will simply read out an excerpt from a letter signed by Gerashchenko where it says clearly: On the morning of 22 September R600 million were paid out in cash and transfers of R80 billion, of R20 billion etc, were made from the Supreme Soviet's account. On 24 September the main directorate of the Central Bank for Moscow paid out in cash 210,000 million, 138,000 million [currency unspecified], etc, etc. There is documentary evidence of who handed out money to whom and all these hints by the Central Bank of instructions having been issued by Finance Ministry are in my view a barefaced lie. In such an event honest people resign, something I have repeatedly advised Mr. Gerashchenko to do. [end recording]

'Sources' Deny Accusations Against Bank

LD0411180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1107 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Competent sources told Interfax that an audit confirmed that a large amount of cash had been made available to the Supreme Soviet after the September decree on dissolution. This was done by the Moscow branch of the Central Bank of Russia [CBR] without the bank's knowledge.

Numerous media and a finance ministry press release had accused the top management of the Central Bank of paying 600,000 rubles in cash to the leaders of the Supreme Soviet even after it was dissolved by the presidential decree of September 21, 1993.

The sources told Interfax that the hasty accusations leveled at the CBR managers were an attempt to discredit the bank.

Council of Ministers' Economic Decisions Viewed

PM0411150993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "What the Council of Ministers Resolved"]

[Text] An enlarged session of the Council of Ministers held on 2 November examined the following item: "On the Socioeconomic Situation of the Russian Federation and Measures To Implement the First Phase of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government Program for 1993-1995 'Development of Reforms and Stabilization of the Russian Economy.'"

The government confirmed the immutability of the course of reforms in accordance with the "Development of Reforms and Stabilization of the Russian Economy" Program, which was adopted 6 August 1993. The elaborated government course in the sphere of budgetary, monetary, credit, and pricing policy and in the sphere of social and labor relations will continue to be implemented, and transformations in the agrarian sector, the structural reorganization of the economy, and foreign economic activity will continue to be stepped up.

However, the socioeconomic situation in the country remains extremely tense. In January-September this year, compared with the same period last year, national income was 15 percent down and industrial output 16.5 percent down, the total debts of industrial enterprises and construction organizations increased, reaching 11.3 trillion rubles, the pace of privatization of large an medium-sized enterprises slowed down, and no increase in the population's standard of living was achieved.

With the aim of creating the conditions essential for speeding up economic reforms, reducing tension in the social sphere, resolving the tasks set for the current year, and ensuring a well-organized start to work in 1994 the Russian Federation government adopted a corresponding decision.

Among the scheduled measures pride of place is taken by the draft Action Plan of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government for 1993-1994 for the implementation of the first phase of the "Development of Reforms and Stabilization of the Russian Economy" Program, which has been basically adopted. This plan contains a list of the order of 170 legislative acts and normative acts—draft laws, presidential edicts, and Council of Ministers decrees—which are to be prepared and submitted to the government within the next few months for comprehensive implementation of all the components of economic reform. When drawing up their regional socioeconomic development programs the organs of executive power of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, autonomous formations, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are to be guided by the basic provisions of the government report [doklad] and the Action Plan.

Attention should be paid to tackling other questions examined and adopted at the grand Council of Ministers session. In particular, special attention continued to be paid to financial stabilization and credit and monetary policy. In this regard the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economics are instructed when forming their financial indicators for 1994 to ensure their necessary coordination with the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government "Development of Reforms and Stabilization of the Russian Economy" Program. Those ministries and the State Tax Service and the Department of Taxation Policy must submit to the Council of Ministers proposals on essential changes to the Russian Federation tax system for 1994 aimed at lowering the level of inflation, creating incentives for investment activity, and ensuring taxes and other payments are collected in full as required. The Ministry of Economics, in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank, is instructed to submit to the Council of Ministers proposals on stepping up monitoring of the targeted use of centralized credit resources and the repayment of credit on schedule.

In view of the fact that the debts of enterprises and organizations have substantially increased again, the Ministry of Finance, the Central Bank, and the Ministry of Economics must in the shortest time possible present a package of measures facilitating the solution of this urgent problem.

By 1 December 1993 the State Committee for the Management of State Property must submit to the Council of Ministers a draft State Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation agreed with interested ministries and departments and the organs of executive power of the components of the Russian Federation. The State Committee for the Management of State Property, the Ministry of Economics, and the Ministry of Finance, in conjunction with other organs, should prepare and submit to the Council of Ministers a list of enterprises which will find themselves under direct state management in 1994-1995.

The Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Economics, and the Ministry of Finance are instructed to elaborate and submit to the Council of Ministers a list of legislative and other normative acts necessary for the implementation of socioeconomic transformations based on the determination of their priority status and need for adoption in 1994.

The Ministry of Economics and the Ministry of Finance with the participation of the Russian Academy of Sciences and other organizations are to prepare and submit to the Council of Ministers proposals on improving the system of central organs of federal executive power with a view to reducing the strength of the management apparatus and transferring some of their functions to the organs of executive power of the components of the Russian Federation.

The Federal Employment Service, the Ministry of Labor, and the Ministry of Economics, in conjunction with interested ministries and departments and the organs of executive power of the components of the Russian Federation, are instructed to provide a comprehensive study of socioeconomic questions relating to the employment of the population and to draw up forecasts of changes in the labor market in connection with measures for structural reorganization of the economy, financial stabilization, and investment and conversion programs. To this end it is resolved to prepare by 1 January 1994 a draft federal program to promote the employment of the population of the Russian Federation for 1994. Given the special significance of small-scale enterprise in creating extra jobs and tacking the problem of employment, the Ministry of Economics, in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Labor, the Federal Employment Service, the Russian Federation State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and the Support of New Economic Structures, the State Investment Corporation, and the Council for the Support of Entrepreneurship under the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, is instructed to submit to the government proposals on developing small-scale enterprise and providing state support for it.

The Ministry of Labor, the Ministry for Social Protection, and the Ministry of Finance are required to submit to the Council of Ministers proposals to improve the targeting of social support for the population, including increasing social benefits and compensatory payments to families with children. The Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Economics must submit to the government proposals on raising the minimum wage and the monthly wage rate (salary) of Category I of the Uniform Wages Schedule for the Labor Remuneration of Workers in the Budget-Financed Sphere.

The Ministry of Justice, the Ministry for the Social Protection of the Population, the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Economics, and the State Committee for the Management of State Property are to submit to the Council of Ministers a package of draft normative acts on questions relating to the activity of nonstate pension funds as an extra source of social provision for the population and means whereby it saves its income. The Ministry of Finance, in conjunction with interested ministries and departments, is instructed to submit to the government proposals on the rates of insurance contributions by employers—enterprises, organizations, establishments, and citizens—to the Russian Federation Pension Fund, the Russian Federation Social Insurance Fund, the Russian Federation State Fund for Employment of the Population, and to mandatory medical insurance in the first half of 1994.

The Russian Federation State Committee for Questions of Architectiure and Construction, the Ministry of Economics, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Justice should speed up the presentation to the Russian Federation Government of normative documents aimed at ensuring the implementation of the State Targeted Housing Program.

Organs of excecutive power of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, autonomous formations, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are forthwith to take the necessary measures to remove existing obstacles to the interregional movement of goods, services, and capital.

The Russian Federation Ministry for the Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources, the Ministry of Economics, and the Ministry of Finance are instructed to carry out a detailed analysis of the current situation regarding the implementation of urgent measures to improve the environment in regions which have a critical ecological situation and to submit proposals to the Council of Ministers on arrangements for financing environmental protection measures in 1994.

The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the State Customs Committee, the Ministry of Economics, and the State Committee for Industrial Policy are to submit to the government proposals on a procedure for regulating foreign trade transactions carried out as part of international cooperation agreements, including those with CIS countries. The Central Bank, in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance and the State Committee for Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth Member States, is to speed up the preparation of draft intergovernmental agreements on the procedure for effecting payment and settlement transactions between enterprises of Commonwealth states and on the regulation of debt clearance.

The Ministry of Economics, the State Committee for Statistics, the State Tax Service, and the Russian Federation State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science are instructed to submit to the government draft normative acts facilitating the improvement of computer backup for the economic reforms being carried out.

Commentary Assesses New Economic Program

PM0411162993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Berger commentary: "The Plan as a Means of Constructing a Market Economy"]

[Text] An enlarged government sitting has confirmed its plan of action for the rest of this year and next year.

Despite an obvious dislike of economic programs on the part of Russian governments over the past two years in view of the blatant crisis of this genre in the public's eyes, programs are being compiled nevertheless. The most recent presentation of a program entitled "Development of Reforms and Stabilization of the Russian Economy" took place at the previous enlarged Council of Ministers sitting 6 August, back before Yegor Gaydar had replaced Oleg Lobov in the government and construction workers had replaced the people's deputies in the White House.

The plan of action adopted Tuesday officially bears the status of the first stage of the aforementioned program. It is fitting to remember today that there were in fact two economic programs by the end of July. One, prepared by the Ministry of the Economy being run at that time by Oleg Lobov, presupposed a drastic reinforcement of the regulatory role of the state in the economy and the revival of planning principles. The other, written by the market advocates who remained in the government, outlined a continuation of the Gaydar style of reform and a further battle against the remnants of the planned economy.

It came as a surprise to many that at the beginning of August the doctrine proposed by Lobov was rejected, but so it is that now the government is planning its moves to implement the market doctrine. Naturally, the plan examined in the government contains monetarist instruments of economic regulation. Under this plan the government intends to reduce inflation by the end of the year to 10 percent, and next year to between 5 and 7 percent a month. The strategic target in the fight against inflation is that it should be no more than 30-40 percent in 1995. The maintenance of a relatively high level of inflation for a relatively prolonged period of time is proof of the tremendous realism of the government's intentions and of a rejection of attempts to apply shock therapy.

Yegor Gaydar, who familiarized members of the "Collaboration" reform club with details of the government's intentions Tuesday evening in the President Hotel, explained just how it is proposed to combat inflation. The battle entails changing taxation policy (a reduction in concessions, a review of the rates of payments into non-budget funds, and a change in taxes on property and on the utilization of natural reserves), cutting state expenditure, and introducing a new budget policy, including reductions in subsidies.

Gaydar also announced that the government has taken the historic decision not to adopt new federal programs because those already in existence exceed capacities for financing them several times over. A noble vow, but somewhat romantic. Whatever the government may do to try to cut expenditure, including expenditure on various programs, it is unlikely to get by without new undertakings in this field. Directly after Gaydar's announcement that the government has renounced the adoption of federal programs, a discussion was launched about how it is essential to combat impending unemployment, essential to define the priorities in structural policy, and essential to support small and medium-sized business. And behind all these "essentials" looms the specter of the next program. The only thing which might console supporters of austerity economics is the fact that nowhere in our history has there been a single fully executed—and that means fully financed—program.

Judging from the plan, privatization remains one of the most important areas of government activity. It is planned to accelerate and expand it. The publication of a presidential edict on the State Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises is planned for December. The extent to which the process will be expanded can be judged if only by the fact that it is planned to examine a law on the privatization of general education institutions in the middle of next year.

The action plan includes a fairly detailed social section, testifying to the government's intention to humanize the reform that is under way.

The appearance of a carefully timetabled plan of action for the coming year testifies not only to the maintenance of the government's market orientation, but also to its members' confidence in the tomorrow which will dawn after the December elections.

Chernomyrdin Comments on Economic Sanctions Against Regions

LD0411143993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1107 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin is convinced that constitutionally upheld federalism will enable the country to recover faster.

He told newsmen before flying off to Denmark and Austria on official visits there that he was flatly against making Russia a confederation.

Asked by an Interfax correspondent if the central authorities might apply economic sanctions to regions not paying taxes to the federal budget, Chernomyrdin remarked that "it is an extremely complex problem." At the same time, he said that "so far there is no Russian region that deserves economic sanctions."

Chernomyrdin also said that Russia had settled the issue on paying taxes to the federal budget with Tatarstan and Sakha (Yakutia). He noted that a one-channel taxation system was unacceptable for Russia.

Chernomyrdin Attends Meeting on Fishing Industry

PM0411114593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Nov 93 p 3

[Irina Yefremova report: "SOS From Fishermen"]

[Text] The problems of the fishing sector have been discussed at a meeting between Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin and Vladimir Korelskiy, chairman of the Russian Federation Fishery Committee, representatives of major fishing grounds, leaders of fishery protection organs, and scientists from the sector. There has recently been a considerable slump in the production of fish products—the biggest for many decades. For instance, in the first nine months of this year production of commodities as a whole fell by 9 percent, but production of canned fish fell by 39.7 percent.

In V. Korelskiy's opinion, the main reasons which have prevented the fishing sector from realizing its potential are not so much sectoral as statewide in nature.

Given that fish products account for less than 20 percent of animal protein, the sector has every reason to expect priority treatment. It is necessary to adopt as speedily as possible the law on fishing, which has already been through all the stages of coordination and has a high degree of readiness.

The leadership of the Russian Federation Fishery Committee has proposed allowing foreign organizations and individuals from states with intergovernmental agreements with Russia to fish Alaska pollock on a fee-paying basis in the Russian economic zone. The funds earned could be channeled into maintaining fishery protection, funding scientific work in the sector, building and maintaining a rescue fleet, and ensuring guaranteed shipments of fish products to federal stocks. At the same time, it is necessary to create conditions for the use of economic levers to restrict shipments of Alaska pollock from Russia to the foreign market. All this will have a positive effect on the level of world prices, which means that Russian shipowners would also make a profit.

'Relatively Fast' Consumer Price Inflation Continues

PM0411125193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Russian State Committee for Statistics staffer Gennadiy Bortsov report: "Oh You Potatoes, You Little Potatoes..."]

[Text] During the period 19-26 October the price of food in Russia increased by an average of 4.2 percent.

The relatively fast rate of price increases dictated by the freeing of bread prices is being maintained. Between 19 and 26 October the price of bread and bakery products increased by 13.4 percent; prices have increased by 40 percent overall since 15 October. During the past week Petrozavodsk, Kaluga, Tula, Volgograd, Novosibirsk, and a number of other cities have switched to free prices, which means that bread has immediately become 50-200 percent more expensive, and from 29 October the same situation will apply in Moscow. But in many major Russian cities the price of bread still remains unchanged for the time being.

Price increases for consumer goods have become an unpleasant, albeit customary feature of our life like a chronic sore—although always in pain, we are still able to carry on living. And things are particularly "painful" for elderly people, students, and beleaguered parents with large families whose budgets rely on pensions, grants, and allowances. Approximately one-third of the population has an income below the subsistence wage, which is in the region of 30,000 rubles [R] a month. Prices have increased faster than incomes, and it is sometimes necessary to substitute pasta, groats, and potatoes for meat dishes. At the present time Russians are consuming 50 percent less meat products than the United States, France, and Germany, but a third more potatoes than the French or Germans and almost double the amount consumed by Americans. The measures taken recently by the federal authorities to support low-income sections of the population in the form of compensatory payments have come just in time and will have a positive effect on living standards.

The cost of a basket of staple foods necessary for a week's feeding compiled on 26 October amounted to an average figure of R5,450 across Russia as a whole. Over the past week this basket has become 3.4 percent more expensive, but the prices of individual foods in the basket have gone up by different amounts: eggs by 9.7 percent, milk products by 3.8 percent, meat products by 1.4 percent, and vegetables by 2.4 percent. The average price of a kilogram of beef was R1,950, boiled sausage cost R2,718, milk cost R182, eggs cost R455 (per dozen), rye-wheat bread cost R141, white bread made from top-grade flour cost R245, potatoes cost R150, and cabbage cost R245.

The price of industrial goods and services offered to the population increased by 4-5 percent over the week. A man's light overcoat cost almost R44,000, a woman's R50,500, a pair of cotton socks R600, a refrigerator R374,000, a color television R343,600, and an electric iron R9,700. Dry cleaning an overcoat cost R2,800, and entry to a movie theater cost R480. There has been practically no change in the cost of bus tickets (with the exception of seven cities), intercity telephone calls (Stavropol, Khabarovsk, and Komsomolsk-na-Amure have seen a 100- to 200-percent increase), apartment rents, and domestic electricity.

Insurance Paid to Victims of October Events

PM0411103393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 93 First Edition p 6

[Rustam Arifdzhanov report: "Insurance Companies Reimburse Coup Victims"]

[Text] The AstroVAZ company has made a decision which is in breach of the generally accepted rules in the insurance business—insurance will be paid out to all the firm's clients who suffered during the October events.

The provision whereby insurance companies do not indemnify victims in the case of popular unrest and civil war is standard international practice. A revolt in an urban setting always means a large number of shot-up, burned-out, and hijacked cars, damaged apartments and property, lives lost, and impaired health. The payment of damages in those cases threatens an insurance company with ruin and bankruptcy. AstroVAZ too was protected by a paragraph in its rules envisaging nonpayment of insurance in such circumstances.

Nevertheless, compensation has already been paid out for 5 shot-up cars and four cars either burned out or stolen during the coup. The heirs will receive the insurance of a middle-aged women killed during the fighting in Moscow. The damage to the health of other clients of the company is being assessed.

The sums are considerable. However, such payments are within the means of one of Russia's leading insurers.

"The company, which already has no shortage of clients—10,000 contracts worth 22 billion rubles," AstroVAZ President Nikolay Lukhmanov told your IZVESTIYA correspondent, "has been experiencing a considerable increase in people wanting to insure their life and property in recent days. However, this is also typical of other leading insurance companies—Ingosstrakh, ASKO, Nadezhda..."

The insurance boom in Moscow is perfectly understandable. The dreadful events of October have forced people to view insurance with greater seriousness. Unfortunately, this understanding only comes from such bitter experience.

Gas-Powered Helicopter Engine Developed

LD0511115493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0600 GMT 5 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Summary] The Interaviagaz joint-stock company has developed a revolutionary helicopter engine powered by liquid gas. The first modified gas-fuelled MI-8 helicopter is already undergoing tests. The engines can be easily fitted on any type of conventional helicopter and can be powered either by liquid gas or kerosene. They are cheap to run. A simple method of producing liquid gas fuel right on the oil field sites, with the help of portable equipment, has also been developed. The engine can be fitted to helicopters simply and speedily.

Media Issues

Shumeyko Defends Media Policy

PM0411133193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Shumeyko by Andrey Podkopalov and Roman Sergeyev; place and date not given: "Vladimir Shumeyko: If the Newspaper Is Interested in This, Then Continue the Investigation"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Vladimir Filippovich, first of all, we apologize for the inaccuracies in the 1 October article "Yakubovskiy's Shadow Hovers Over the White House." We are interested in dispelling all rumors and myths, just as you are, we hope...

[Shumeyko] As far as apologies are concerned—better late than never. And as for "dispelling all rumors and myths," then Prosecutor Stepankov and Prosecutor Kazannik dispelled them by means of official documents: The criminal case has been called off definitively. I think that before printing something, particularly if it is about someone well-known, you might look at some biographical facts and not circulate dirty scandal like the description of my son's carefree life in Zurich—although I think that everyone has known for ages that I have two daughters and have never had a son. Then all this muck, which you call inaccuracies, appears again. I do not see this as an inaccuracy, I see it as a personal attack and that is all. I do not want to take KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA to court. One thing I can say, not as minister for the press but as a reader, is that this does not add to the newspaper's prestige.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In your opinion, were the 3-4 October events a definitive victory for democracy or the beginning of a transition to real democracy via authoritarianism?

[Shumeyko] The 3-4 October events cannot by any means be viewed as some kind of everyday event. It is simply that during Russia's movement toward democracy, toward a real democratic society, the opposition got together and provided us with what was possibly a "last decisive battle," or maybe, most probably, it was not a "last decisive" one, because all this can be assessed as a phase on the path toward genuine democracy—a bloody phase, a tragic phase, but not one that can be viewed as either a victory or as a beginning. The beginning has already been and gone, and there can be no question of a victory here.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] How do you explain your appointment as minister of the press, when you are not a journalist, and meanwhile, Poltoranin, who created the Ministry of the Press out of nothing, is "unemployed"?

[Shumeyko] The point is that the minister of the press does not necessarily have to be a journalist. The Ministry of the Press and Information brings together a great many tasks and functions—it includes the mass media, which can be divided into the electronic mass media and the press, it includes printing, publishing, the problems of protecting freedom of speech, and so on. The ministry has a great many functions, and naturally the minister should be a specialist, but it is still hard to say whether this means a journalist.

But, as the government is a political organ, the minister of the press must share the political line of the government and the president. That is why my appointment as minister of the press at such a difficult period in the Russian state's development shows that both the president and the premier, who nominated me to the president as the minister of the press, are sure that I share this political line.

I am a candidate of technical sciences and a specialist in the sphere of microelectronics. I find it fairly easy to handle technical things, and today, if you are talking about the electronic mass media, they are undergoing a crisis, a pretty serious crisis, because only two countries remain in the world—Russia and Zaire—which have gone over to the SECAM system in color television: This is a kind of dead end. All world experience has departed from this significantly—you know that other countries are developing within other systems—and today everyone is going over to a digital code. Our increasingly bulky system (in the Soviet Union it had over 160 channels) may now come close to crashing, so we will have to adopt a heap of common [yedinykh] state technical decisions in order to salvage the system. This is extremely important today.

There are masses of different aspects involved in who should be a minister and in what period. It is not my fault that Poltoranin is "unemployed." That is the president's business—he appointed whom he appointed.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] The ultimatums given on behalf of the Ministry of the Press and Information to the labor collectives of a number of opposition newspapers—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and PRAVDA—caused puzzlement among the public and journalists. How do you see the role and place of the opposition press in today's information structure?

[Shumeyko] The Ministry of the Press and Information has given and is going to give no ultimatums to any mass medium. It was simply that in accordance with Presidential Edict 1400, Edicts 1452, 572, and others, the ministry suspended the activity of PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, and NARODNAYA PRAVDA.

It was also exclusively in accordance with the letter of the law that the ministry suspended the activity of DEN, RUSSKOYE DELO, RUSSKOYE VOSKRESENIYE, RUSSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, RUSSKIY PORYADOK, ZA RUS, NASH MARSH, NATSIONALIST, RUSSKOYE SLOVO, MOSKOVSKIY TRAKTIR, RUSSKIY SOYUZ, K TOPORU, and so on.

All these newspapers have a fascist orientation, and suspending their publication is fully in line with the law.

In accordance with Article 4 of the Russian Federation Law on the Mass Media, these newspapers were repeatedly given the necessary warnings and therefore, as soon as the state of emergency was over, the ministry started to prepare the relevant documents on these publications and will hand them over to the judicial organs in the near future.

As for the opposition press, no one has ever objected to its existence. The Ministry of the Press has not undertaken any measures to suspend the activity of opposition newspapers. PRAVDA's chief editor and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's chief editor and his deputy were dismissed—they came under the effect of the Law on the State of Emergency. This law declares that direct calls in the mass media to overthrow the lawfully elected state power are not permitted. Chief editors are responsible for the publication of newspapers—they are fully to blame for the fact that direct calls for violence were to be found on the pages of these publications. That is why they were released from work in the period of the state of emergency.

Now that it has ended these individuals have the right to seek legal process against the Press and Information Ministry decision. If in so doing they win the case, then they will be restored to their jobs. But that is a matter for the court to decide.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Although I understand how many documents have been passing through your hands and how difficult it is to know the particulars of every one of them, did you nevertheless not sanction some kind of dubious deals? Rutskoy announced some operation or other concerning baby food...

[Shumeyko] You are nevertheless determined to find some skeletons in the closet, even if there are none there.

Rutskoy announced many things. He announced his way into prison, so to speak—he is now in Lefortovo. As far as his "announcements" are concerned, I promptly took legal action in defense of my honor and dignity, because all of these announcements are complete lies and political provocation.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] The "Yakubovskiy phenomenon" still worries the public. How could it happen that a completely random person found himself in the top echelons of power? Is this the fault of specific individuals? Whose fault? Or was it a flaw in the cadre mechanism in the government?

[Shumeyko] I am not at all worried by the "Yakubovskiy phenomenon." The newspaper may investigate this phenomenon, but the answer can be found in the actual question. Yes, it is the fault of specific individuals, the situation in the state, and shortcomings in cadre policy. If he had not worked on a permanent basis in the "appropriate" organs, he would never have worked on a voluntary basis in the government.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] As the whole of last year has shown, the maintenance of the ruble zone in the CIS countries has been one of the main reasons for high inflation in Russia. How is the renewal of the ruble zone going to affect the financing of the situation in our country?

[Shumeyko] The economic agreement which practically all the CIS states have signed does not automatically mean that the ruble zone will be fully renewed. Certain CIS states will keep their own currencies. This question is still at the discussion stage. Why? Because the document signed provides a kind of framework agreement, a protocol of intentions. But it must be given appropriate substance on the basis of bilateral agreements among all the Commonwealth states.

I consider the concern about the reason for the deterioration in the financial situation in the Russian economy to be justified to a certain extent. A fairly large percentage of GDP will go into assistance to those states, but to my mind the political "profit" from the integration of these states' economies will be far more valuable here.

I think that many Commonwealth member states have now gotten over the euphoria of absolute freedom and full sovereignty, and indeed hopes that "the West will help us," to use Ostap Bender's words.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] It appears that the Russian economy is now very close to structural changes. Mass bankruptcy and unemployment will soon start being a reality. How can this inevitable and difficult period be overcome with the smallest losses and as quickly as possible?

[Shumeyko] People have been talking about mass unemployment for the past two years. Virtually every day they repeat—"it's about to happen." The Russian economy, and Russia as a state in general, differs too much from Western counterparts for that. What we have today is not unemployment in the generally accepted sense of the word but latent unemployment. Despite the fact that they are experiencing a difficult period, enterprises have so far not been laying off their workers but are sending them off on leave and so on.

I think that we will nevertheless manage to restrain the growth of unemployment. On the one hand by paying direct subsidies. Or else by using completely different measures and creating new projects to clear up enterprise finances. The government has already adopted a plan of action for 1993-1994.

Poltoranin Says Yeltsin Will Decide Fate of Media

LD0411173293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0810 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov—The draft of the reorganization of the Federal Information Center (FIC) is in the Russian president's hands, and he will choose the path for the development of the mass media, said FIC head Mikhail Poltoranin, in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

The head of the FIC was pleased that his plans concerning the economic development of the fourth power have received support in media circles. Poltoranin recalled the attacks the FIC was subjected to by the former parliament and the Congress of People's Deputies, and said that now, nothing could hinder the strengthening of this structure and the creation of a financial basis for the development of the mass media.

For the head of the FIC, said Poltoranin, the main aim is to work out, in conjunction with journalists, a policy on how to explain the points of the new constitutional draft. According to him, this was precisely the aim of his trip to Tomsk and Omsk where he held meetings with media representatives. Poltoranin said that he was planning to go on several similar trips across the country and for him it was especially important that every Russian citizen should be familiar with the basic constitutional principles before 12 December.

Official Discusses Government Press Service

LD0411211193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1449 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—"The press service of the Russian Council of Ministers is a third information structure under the government in addition to ITAR-TASS and RIA-Novosti," a high-ranking Russian governmental official said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Thursday, Vladimir Kvasov, head of the Russian Government administration, said that the government's press service has become a state organisation.

His deputy Valeriy Grishin added that it would be more correct to call it a "department of information." He believes that the press service proper should be a small part of a state structure, while the bulk of work will include "the preparation of social and economic information for the leadership of the Council of Ministers and explanation of the government's policy to the public."

"We believe it important to detect and analyse processes going on in society at their early stage of development with the help of the press and make our proposals to the government which will then adopt a decision," Grishin said.

To implement these tasks, the government will use television equipment which was previously owned by the now-defunct Supreme Soviet, Kvasov added. He regretted that neither channel one nor channel two of Russian Television are "trying to cover the economic programme of Russia's revival. If they do speak about the government's activities, they often appear to be distorted." "An objective coverage of reform is one of the guarantees of success," he added.

Speaking about the Federal Information Centre led by Mikhail Poltoranin, Kvasov said that "there is no such organisation" in the list of organisations of the Council of Ministers. He noted, however, that the centre was set up by the president and only the president can decide on its future.

Kvasov said the government is planning to launch a new newspaper shortly which will focus on the life in Russian regions. The first issue of the newspaper is expected to come out in the beginning of 1994.

Press Ministry To Publish List on Subsidies to Publications

LD0511073493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0708 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—A list of some 600 Russian publications receiving state subsidies will be published in the future and will disclose the amount of subsidies and the circulation of the newspapers and magazines, First Deputy Information Minister David Tsabria told TASS on Friday [5 November].

He said he had arrived to the conclusion to disclose the figures after a meeting with editors-in-chief of the leading mass media. Tsabria believes this would allow to lift the unnecessary "secrecy veil" over the distribution of state subsidies to mass media.

He added that the subsidies are a form of state pressure on the freedom of the press and believes it necessary to look for other forms of state support to mass media.

Files 'Claim' Against SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA

LD0511110293 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0830 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] The Russian Ministry for Press and Information has lodged a statement with the court relating to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper ceasing its activities. First Deputy Minister for Press and Information (David Tsabriya) told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that actions of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper during the days of the October events and its refusal to meet the ministry's demand regarding re-registration have formed the basis of the claim.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editor Protests Government Actions

PM0411154393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "PRAVDA Has Come Out. How Are Things at SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA?"]

[Text] A PRAVDA correspondent called in at our neighbors in order to clarify the situation. This is what SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Chief Editor V. Chikin said to him:

"We congratulate PRAVDA staff on getting out issue No. 192: Happy rebirthday. It was a joy to meet the familiar, dear, and honest face of the most venerable of Russian newspapers!...

"But it seems that the state of emergency is continuing for us—this unsanctioned and unexplained ban, these vague references to Edicts 1400 and 1578. True, at the end of last week we received by fax yet one more strange letter signed by D. Tsabriya, first deputy minister for the press and information. He informs us that the state of emergency was lifted 18 October and that SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA could have come out as early as the following day though it did not. Why was this? 'The newspaper prefers to strike,' the letter claims. I cannot understand what it has in mind.

"It is now being proposed that we reregister the newspaper 'taking into consideration Government Decree No. 334 of 18 May 1992.' But this is clearly a ridiculous pretext—Decree 334 on the use of the designations 'Russia' and Russian 'Federation' in no way requires it to reregister. I must also point out that the newspaper's founder—the editorial office journalists' collective—confirmed the powers of the editorial staff, chief editor, and his deputy in a unanimous vote at their meeting back in mid-October."

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Pledges Return To 'Objective, Centrist Position'

PM0411160793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Nov 93 First Edition p 6

[Editorial message to readers: "Congratulations, Friends!"]

[Text] Dear Reader!

It is a big day for us today—it is three years since the paper's first issue was published. They have been difficult years and they have contained enough events to fill a century. We appreciate, of course, that not everyone likes the paper's present line, that some would prefer the one-sided approach that distinguished it recently and for which we were rightly criticized by many readers in their letters. There are those, too, who actually say that it is not the paper it was recently.

The editorial collegium cannot accept this view. What is happening today is a return to the paper we published in the first two years, to the objective, centrist position which attracted many readers to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and secured it considerable popularity and authority.

Remember the first issue of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and the wishes it received. What kind of paper did Russians want to see?

One that is independent of the tastes and predilections of any leading personnel. Its main guiding principles should be a striving for truth, objectivity, and a responsiveness to new things.

Through ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA readers must get the whole uncut and unadulterated truth about the work of the supreme organs of power.

The paper must be as democratic as possible and as tolerant as possible of different views and positions. Let us provide a platform for people of different beliefs and honest competition between intellects, ideas, and arguments. The paper must be bold in its coverage of so-called closed and awkward topics.

Finally, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA is above all the voters' paper. If its pieces reflect their interests, needs, and aspirations, success will be assured.

The return to this moral program is our common commitment. An impartial evaluation of recent weeks' issues will give you a clear sense of this line—the only correct line for a paper that wants to be a genuine Russian Federation people's paper.

Editor Protests Banning of GLASNOST

PM0411141993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 2

[Viktor Kozhemyako report: "GLASNOST Without a Voice"]

[Text] The newspaper GLASNOST was one of the opposition publications shut down 4 October. It has not published since. What is happening with this newspaper. I asked its Chief Editor Yu. Izyumov for explanations.

Yuriy Petrovich said that a group of hooligans from "Democratic Russia" broke down the GLASNOST editorial office door 4 October and ransacked the office. That same day the chief editor asked Moscow Prosecutor G. Ponomarev to institute criminal proceedings in respect of this case. But that evening the editorial collective was warned by the Russian Presidential Administration's economic service that personnel would not be allowed into the editorial office. That is, the newspaper lost its premises as well as being banned. Without any documentation, moreover. "We have instructions from Filatov to evict you all," that was it.

"We then appealed to V. Chernomoyrdin, A. Kazannik, and S. Filatov," Yu. Izyumov said, "and got no response. An official statement from the Ministry of Press and Information said that we have to change our founder, it being supposedly the CPSU Central Committee. But the newspaper re-registered back in September 1991 and since then its founder has been the labor collective. We are filing charges against the Russian Ministry of Press and Information and demanding damages of at least 500 million rubles to date. We would ask our readers to also file statements of claim against the ministry, which has illegally robbed them of their newspaper, with courts in their place of residence."

Russian Television Signs Agreement With BBC

LD0411134693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Nov 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Television's field of information continues to broaden. A general agreement has been signed in London with the BBC. Here is Aleksandr Gurnov with the details.

[Gurnov] Judging by the data of recent polls, a very small percent of the population in Russia listens to foreign broadcasts. However, the BBC's triumphant march through Russia continues. Apart from broadcasts on the frequencies of the Russian and Ukrainian service from London, Bush House journalists broadcast special programs on Radio Rossii frequencies. BBC Television broadcasts news with simultaneous translation on the Moscow channel. So, the general agreement signed in London between two of the world's biggest broadcasting companies became not a declaration of intentions but rather put the seal on cooperation which really already exists.

[Marmaduke Hussey, head of the BBC, in English with superimposed Russian translation] It is necessary both for United States and the Russians, because we are talking not just of broadcasting but of bringing two great peoples together, and, specifically, we are today preparing to assist Russian Television in actively covering the elections. But our relations should not be considered completely equal, for in London Russian Television has been seen only on one night, on 3-4 October.

[O. Poptsov, head of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company] I expect that we will solve this question now. We are being quite persistent about this now because without this we cannot develop further, and this question must clearly be solved in a positive way.

Chairman of Information Court of Arbitration Elected

PM0411172193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova report: "Chairman Elected. Session Continues..."]

[Text] Professor Anatoliy Vengerov, chief of the State Theory and Law Faculty at the Moscow State Legal Academy, has been elected chairman of the information court of arbitration set up by Russian Federation presidential edict. Vladimir Sukhomlinov, first deputy [chairman] of the International Confederation of Journalists' Unions, has been elected court secretary.

The session examined organizational matters.

Regional Affairs

Moscow Mayor Interviewed on Elections, Crime

AU0411132193 Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 1 Nov 93 p 4

[Interview with Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov by Susanne Vieth-Entus in Moscow; date not given: "The Radical Forces Have No Chance in Russia"]

[Text] [Vieth-Entus] What chances do you think the radical parties will have in the election to the Russian Parliament and the Moscow City Parliament on 12 December?

[Luzhkov] The communist and nationalist parties will not get more than 15-20 percent of the vote, and in Moscow not even that much. After all, during the attempted coup, the people clearly demonstrated that the radical forces have no chance and that they categorically reject the communist and reactionary forces.

[Vieth-Entus] What party are you affiliated to? Will you also have to run in the December election?

[Luzhkov] I am not affiliated to any party, I am independent, and I see my main task in the sphere of economic policy. There is no reason why I should vacate my position before 1996. That is when my mandate will expire, because I was democratically elected together with my predecessor, Gavriil Popov. I was his deputy until he resigned last year.

[Vieth-Entus] Nevertheless, you are forced to back up your power with populist measures, one of which was the expulsion of large numbers of Caucasians during the state of emergency.

[Luzhkov] That is not quite correct. We did not specifically expel Caucasians, but criminal elements. The nationality was irrelevant in this connection.

[Vieth-Entus] Human rights organizations have reported that there was a virtual hunt for dark-skinned people, such as people with Caucasian features.

[Luzhkov] We were not hunting moustaches. Anyway, I reject such a primitive description of the situation. We know that people who move to Moscow from outside are responsible for some 40 percent of all crimes there. Those people do not only come from the Caucasus, but also from other Russian cities or the Baltics. They come with evil intentions and not to do business, for example.

[Vieth-Entus] Considering the large number of people arrested you could not have the opportunity to examine individual cases. It was said that many refugees were among those who were arrested. One could also hear that the police systematically searched markets for dark-skinned traders.

[Luzhkov] This is not true. There were no arbitrary actions. Only those with a police record were expelled. This had nothing to do with refugees. We did not expel any refugees. After all, where should we have sent them?! Besides, in Moscow, there are some 250,000 people from places like Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. All in all, more than 100 nationalities. Let me repeat: We only removed criminal elements. One of the effects was that the crime rate has gone down 30 percent, which means that we caught the right ones.

[Vieth-Entus] How many unemployed persons are there in Moscow at the moment? What will happen once the state enterprises close down? Do you expect a wave of unemployment?

[Luzhkov] At the moment 18,000 Moscow citizens are registered as unemployed. I do not expect a "wave" of unemployed persons. We have launched retraining schemes of an unprecedented scope. People from state enterprises that are shut down, from party or other organizations will be retrained and can look for jobs in other sectors. A large number of people set up small businesses of their own, of which there are some 10,000 in Moscow now.

[Vieth-Entus] Do you expect new difficulties with the food supply this winter?

[Luzhkov] No, apart from a few bottlenecks, the tense situation in this sphere has considerably eased, because a lot has been transferred to private hands. Some 50 percent of the food in our city of 9 million is bought with state credits from private companies. As mayor, I have to estimate how many tons of meat and other basic foodstuffs are required. In the past, feeding the people was the main problem for the mayor, whereas now it is fighting crime.

[Vieth-Entus] During your visit to Berlin, you encouraged construction companies to invest in Moscow. Yet, people here are rather skeptical about major construction projects, particularly since German newspapers have written about projects that failed. One could read that the large "Moscow City" project failed as a result of embezzlement involving billions [currency not specified].

[Luzhkov] That is not true. "Moscow City" has not failed but is extremely promising. It will involve some $2 billion. After all, I should know if "Moscow City" had really failed, shouldn't I? No, it is a promising project that is very important to me.

[Vieth-Entus] Let us return to the election and to populism. Can the Moscow citizens be expected to accept the removal of Lenin from the mausoleum in Red Square?

[Luzhkov] They can. The city government is planning to preserve the mausoleum as a building. One will find sensible ways for using it. Lenin could then be buried at the Volkogo Cemetery in St. Petersburg, next to his family.

Repairs Progressing at Moscow City Hall

PM0411172393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 93 p 1

[Andrey Pavlov report: "Glaziers Coming to Replace Combat Engineers"]

[Text] The "White House" has already lost its combat color scheme: The soot has been washed off. The clock, which is surrounded by builders' cradles and people pottering about, is still not working. The White House grounds are enclosed by a three-meter-tall, enormously long concrete wall which even a mouse could not get through. Awesomely strict militiamen stand at the gates asking for permits written out by unknown individuals in unknown places. Not risking climbing over that wall, we make for City Hall.

We find our way there without any bureaucratic tricks, and, accompanied by a member of the security service, we go around the building. On almost every floor vast heaps of rubble have been piled up in front of the elevators, and around them guys are cutting out panes of 6mm glass. The main problem facing the City Hall workers after the "revolutionaries" left the building was posed by the tremendous drafts blowing through the smashed windows. All the external windows have now been glazed. The first floor, which suffered the worst damage, was restored first.

Inside the building the rubble on the burned-out floors has been removed. The stained glass windows in which the aluminum fixtures melted are going to be put back as of 15 November, when the necessary equipment arrives. It is not out of the question that surprises are in store for the refurbishment workers. Thus, last Friday an unexploded shell from a grenade launcher, which had come from the direction of the White House, was removed from the wall on the fourth floor. "The combat engineers 'knocked it out' with a hammer," our companion told us.

City Hall is now signing a contract with the "Eleron" science and production association to equip the building with a new security alarm within a short time—by 1 December of this year. The old one is not only obsolete, but was also partially ransacked 3-4 October.

St. Petersburg Mayor Warns Against 7 Nov Demonstrations

LD0511111193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0959 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg November 5 TASS—St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak has urged the population not to call meetings or hold marches or demonstrations in the city on November 7 (anniversary of the Bolshevik October Revolution). He believes it is "necessary to switch over the energy of the people from political battles to day-to-day chores."

Sobchak has turned down applications for permission to hold meetings and demonstrations on November 7, received from the Russian Communist Party, the "Homeland" Association, and the Women's League. He expressed the hope that the upcoming November days-off would be calm in the city.

Shumeyko Arrives in Kaliningrad

LD0411151893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko arrived in Kaliningrad today on a three-day working visit. The reason for his visit is accumulated problems relating to Kaliningrad Oblast's special status, he said during a meeting with oblast heads and economic planners.

An enclave surrounded by foreign states, this western region of Russia is now facing serious economic problems, especially since the introduction of a visa-entry system by Latvia and Lithuania. A law has been drawn defining Kaliningrad Oblast's legal status within the state. The law envisages allowing the region much more independence in settling issues with other states.

During the three days, Shumeyko will visit the oblast's enterprises and meet his constituents in the elections to the Federal Assembly.

Chechen Speaker: Republic Will Not Hold New Elections

LD0411224993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1509 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] The Chechen Republic will not hold elections to a new parliament because there is no need to do so, INTERFAX has been told by Parliament Speaker Akhyad Idigov. He has said the current parliament involving 30 deputies is very efficient and debates amendments to the Constitution of the Chechen Republic.

He said that the lack of certain laws in the Constitution enabled certain political forces, including pro-Communist ones, to attempt to seize power in the republic in June. At present the attention is focused on power-sharing between the legislative and executive branches of power to avoid similar conflicts.

Speaking about political processes in Russia, Idigov said that the forthcoming elections to the Federal Assembly were illegal and create ground for the Russian regions to declare sovereignty and thus disintegrate Russia. "The Chechen Republic has never been and will not be part of Russia, said the parliament speaker.

Recent Events in Chechnya Detailed

PM0411175493 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Sharip Asuyev: "Echo of Explosions in Groznyy: Russian President's Press Service Refutes Chechen Diplomats' Claims"]

[Text] Chechnya's government of people's confidence, headed by Yaragi Mamodayev, is demanding a legal evaluation of attempts to include the Chechen Republic in the Russian constitutional area. A letter requesting this was sent to the Russian Constitutional Arbitration Court. The document says that from the viewpoint of international law Chechnya was not part of Russia formerly, and especially not in the past two years. The letter expresses regret that the new draft Russian Constitution also includes Chechnya as part of Russia. The 40-year-old Yaragi Mamodayev was appointed head of the government of people's confidence by the Chechen parliament at the time of the April power crisis in Chechnya. At that time only Dzhokhar Dudayev was opposed to this: He did not recognize the new government, and the president's entourage declared Yaragi Mamodayev himself to be an "enemy of the people."

Yaragi Mamodayev, for his part, is convinced that Dzhokhar Dudayev "has fulfilled his mission in large-scale politics and can now depart."

The stepping up of opposition activity is prompting a nervous reaction in presidential structures in the republic. Clearly this explains the Chechen Foreign Ministry's statement. It asserts that the Russain Security Council has adopted a decision on a military invasion of Chechnya. One of President Dzhokhar Dudayev's military advisers reported that some 40 armored vehicles are concentrated in and around Ingushetia's Malgobekskiy Rayon alone. At the same time, the adviser noted, instances of the violation of the borders with Chechnya by Russian troops have become more frequent. The assertion of the so-called Chechen Foreign Ministry that a "secret session" of the Russian Federation Security

Council was held in Moscow, at which the decision to invade Chechnya was supposedly adopted, is "a fabrication that does not even merit a serious rebuttal." That statement was made by Anatoliy Krasikov, leader of the Russian President's Press Service, in response to a request to comment on the report from Groznyy.

Meanwhile the consequences of the recent acts of sabotage are being eliminated in the republic. It is known that 17 of the city's electricity substations were blown up. Industrial facilities stopped work. People were left without water or electricity.

The damage to the republic is in excess of 10 billion rubles, according to experts' assessments. It is not yet clear who took this barbarous step. Sultan Geliskhanov, chief of the Chechen Department of State Security, stated in an interview for the local press that "this was the work of local saboteurs, and there can be no question of a conspiracy from outside."

Buryat Leader Argues for Presidency in Republic

MK0411125593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Nov 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Buryatia"]

[Text] "I have changed my negative attitude to the introduction of a presidency; a clear-cut vertical system of government is being set up in Russia, and we also have to fit in it," Vladimir Saganov, Buryatia's head of government, said.

In the Council of Ministers chairman's view, the republic's future leader should be elected by a national vote and should have broad powers. Elections for the Buryatia presidency, Vladimir Saganov thinks, should be held in February-March 1994 simultaneously with elections for the republic's parliament.

Northwestern Areas Reach Accord on Transport

LD0511113693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Summary] The northwestern republics and oblasts of Russia have reached agreement in Petrozavodsk, the capital of Karelia, on close cooperation in developing all forms of transport. A local reporter for Mayak says that the pooling of resources will make possible the building of a big railway line in Karelia. A special permanent committee has been set up in Petrozavodsk to organize a joint development program for all transport sectors. Gennadiy Shamshin, deputy chairman of Karelia's Council of Ministers, said: We believe that through this assembly we will be able to work out a program for development of the transport network that will allow normal trade between regions and give the northwestern regions an opening onto Russia's remaining, now quite small, western borders for export trade. Russia will get a bigger transport network and will be better equipped for trade among all regions, while the program will give passengers a more comfortable transport system.

Cossack Leader Gives Assurance on Volgograd Policing Role

PM0411155793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Nov 93 First Edition p 8

[Tatyana Viktorova report: "A Whip Instead of a Nightstick"]

[Text] At the present time the streets of Volgograd are being patrolled by regular militia details, like everywhere else. But they are understrength and crime is on the increase. The Cossacks have come to the aid of their local militia. The first Cossack unit is already being formed. What is it? Many of Volgograd's inhabitants are concerned there will be scope for abuses. They are afraid that the Cossacks will start lashing out with their sabers and whips....

Pokrovskaya Village Hetman Aleksandr Mordovin gives the following account:

"It will be a mobile combined unit like a special-purpose militia detachment. It will not only patrol the streets but also deal promptly with disturbances and carry out various forays—into streets, markets, and criminal areas.

"The formation is based on Cossack traditions, so there should be no abuses. If there are, appropriate punishment awaits the Cossack involved. I believe that we can organize a clear regime in the city and ensure that criminals are unable to sleep soundly...."

International Affairs

Russia's Kozyrev Arrives in Odessa, Meets Zlenko

LD0511105693 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0830 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Andrey Kozyrev and Anatoliy Zlenko, the leaders of the foreign political departments of the Russian Federation and Ukraine respectively, are continuing their dialogue on a broad range of issues relating to the development of Russian-Ukrainian relations in Odessa today. Andrey Kozyrev is on a two-day working visit to the Ukraine at the invitation of the Ukrainian foreign minister.

Insists on Nuclear Weapons Transfer

LD0511124893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1217 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—Russia insists that in conformity with bilateral accords the pullout of nuclear weapons from Ukraine for their dismantling in Russia shall start on January 1 1994 and warned that otherwise a catastrophe is possible because of the poor technical state of the warheads.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, leaving on Friday for Odessa to negotiate with his Ukrainian counterart Anatoliy Zlenko, told ITAR-TASS that the latest data received from Ukrainian sources is alarming because the poor technical state of Ukrainian nuclear warheads, namely the concentration of hydrogen in them, may cause a catastrophe "more dreadful than the Chernobyl one".

"We want that Ukraine begins transferring all nuclear charges (to Russia) from January 1", as it had been agreed by the presidents of the two countries, according to Kozyrev.

"We have got only 24 months to dismantle them, this is technical time", the minister stressed and warned that a new Chernobyl may occur if the deadline is not observed.

Says Russia Poses 'No Threat'

LD0511130293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1241 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—Russia poses no threat to Ukraine, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on Friday [5 November], adding that a transfer of nuclear weapons to Russia would be the best security guarantee to Ukraine because of the worsening technical state of its warheads.

"If the Massandra agreements on a complete withdrawal of all nuclear warheads from Ukraine for their dismantling in Russia are not fulfilled in 24 months, the threat to (Ukrainian) security, without any nuclear strike, will be equal to that posed by a true nuclear strike although Ukraine would not be attacked by anyone", Kozyrev told TASS before leaving Moscow for his two-day Ukrainian visit.

"Every state, including Ukraine, is concerned about its security. But the problem is from where the threat comes. It is completely clear that it's not from Russia".

He reiterated that Russia is ready to ensure security guarantees to Ukraine. "We, like other states, are ready to provide guarantees, additional guarantees. This issue has been practically decided on", he stressed.

But getting rid of nuclear weapons will be the best guarantee for Ukraine, according to Kozyrev. "The best guarantee in this respect is the freeing of the country from nuclear weapons. This is not only a political question, this is a problem of the worsening conditions of the armaments", he added.

Says Agreement 'Essential'

LD0511144093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1317 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS— A Russo-Ukrainian agreement is essential. It is necessary for residents of the Crimea, of Sevastopol, said Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. Interviewed by ITAR-TASS before taking a plane to Odessa, Kozyrev said that Russia makes no territorial claims to Ukraine, but that "the situation of people should be eased".

Achieving progress on the matter of nuclear charges removal from the Ukrainian territory, on the destiny of the Black Sea Fleet, the signing of an agreement on dual citizenship and on some commercial and economic problems, the sides will be able to embark on the Russo-Ukrainian summit, Kozyrev said.

Notes Compensation for Black Sea Fleet

LD0511144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1323 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Nov—Russia is prepared to compensate the Ukraine for the value of the 50 percent of the Black Sea Fleet "that ought actually, by rights, and we acknowledge that, to have gone to Ukraine," Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said before flying to Odessa for talks with Anatoliy Zlenko.

However, he stressed, it is important not to divide the fleet and not to cause social protest in Sevastopol and the Crimea. This is in the national interests of Ukraine no less than of Russia, and perhaps even more so, since Ukrainian territory is involved. It is not some political concession for the sake of economic benefit, but a coincidence of political and economic benefit, the minister noted.

'Optimistic' on Meeting With Zlenko

LD0511150993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1410 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa, 5 November—"It cannot be otherwise. We are optimistic about this meeting," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said immediately after descending from the aircraft at Odessa airport. Kozyrev is heading the Russian delegation at the meeting due to begin in Odessa today with a Ukrainian delegation headed by Anatoliy Zlenko, head of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. The head of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry met his Russian counterpart at Odessa airport where he himself had landed 40 minutes earlier. "None of us can doubt that Russia and Ukraine must reach agreement," the head of the Russian foreign policy department stressed. Kozyrev noted that the meeting would focus attention on questions of implementing the Massandra accords of 3 September this year. These are, primarily, questions of nuclear weapons, the elimination of nuclear installations, and the dismantling of nuclear warheads. No time should be lost here, the Russian foreign minister believes. The technical state of some of the warheads is arousing fear both in Russia and in Ukraine, he noted. There will also be discussion of the Black Sea Fleet. As well as questions connected with the Massandra accords between the two presidents, Kozyrev mentioned questions that were initiated at other meetings, too, in particular at Dagomys. Here Kozyrev cited the question of dual nationality and mentioned a new treaty between Ukraine and Russia.

It is important, the Russian minister commented, not to heat up the situation, but to advance toward mutual agreement in a calm, considered and focussed manner and in a set direction. Answering questions from Ukrainian journalists and foreign journalists accredited in Odessa on Russia's new military doctrine, Andrey Kozyrev pointed out that the new Russian doctrine not only does not hamper progress toward implementing the Ukrainian-Russian accords under discussion at the present meeting, but will even promote them, since Russia's military doctrine has reconfirmed that Russia has no territorial claims against anyone, above all its neighbors.

Andrey Kozyrev said that good relations between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine serve as a good basis for implementing the accords. He announced that he had brought with him a personal message from Boris Yeltsin to Leonid Kravchuk, and also gave a very warm report on his own relations with his Ukrainian colleague Anatoliy Zlenko, whose professional capabilities as a diplomat Kozyrev highly appraised.

Answering a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent on the subject of the meeting, Anatoliy Zlenko said that this meeting had been planned for a long time. Its aim, as defined by the head of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry—what we are expecting and hoping for from this meeting, Zlenko said—is to find answers to the questions that still await answers. We need to and must hold consultations in order better to explain the present position of the parties and to report back on the results to the presidents of our states.

The first meeting between the delegations of Russia and Ukraine is expected to begin about 1700 hours Moscow time today. According to preliminary reports, it will be held behind closed doors at the Odessa oblast administration guest residence.

The second round of talks starting today has been scheduled for 1000 hours Moscow time on Saturday, 6 November. The parties plan to complete their negotiations tomorrow.

Crimea To Hold Talks With Russia on Energy Crisis

LD0411215693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1207 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Simferopol, 3 November—Mykola Bahrov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea, held a conference which discussed the issue of supplying energy sources to the Crimean Republic. Mr. Bahrov informed those present about the Crimean Government's intentions to hold negotiations with Russia's Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and First Deputy Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar. It was noted that to solve the problem of providing Crimea with energy sources great hopes are being placed on the construction of a terminal and an oil pipeline to the Chernomorskoye-Yevpatoriya junction.

Sevastopol Organizations Seek Vote in Russian Elections

PM0411162393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 93 p 2

[Nikolay Musiyenko report: "Will People Vote in Sevastopol?"]

[Text] The leaders of 15 social organizations from this hero city have asked Central Electoral Committee Chairman N. Ryabov to form a territorial electoral district in Sevastopol for the elections to Russia's supreme organs of state power. This request, submitted on the basis of the will of the majority of Sevastopol's inhabitants, is motivated by the fact that Sevastopol had the status of a city of republic (RSFSR) subordination from 1948, and this was not altered in 1954 during the transfer of the Crimea to the administrative jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Relays of Radio Rossii Restricted in Crimea

LD0511051093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] An independent information court of arbitration is needed not just in Russia. The point is that information policy in the countries close to Russia is being pursued at times from one standpoint only: crowding Russian subject matter off the air by hook and by crook.

The Crimea Television and Radio Company has sprung a surprise on its listeners. By a decision of the republican radio's chief editorial office, relays of Radio Rossii broadcasts on the peninsula have been sharply restricted. Yevgenyy Novikov reports from Simferopol:

[Novikov] At the decision of the republican radio's chief editorial office, it was explained to this correspondent that the restrictions of Radio Rossii relays had been imposed because of the need to regulate the correlation between Kiev and Moscow programs, specifically in favor of Kiev for some reason. The Crimea Television and Radio Company does not take into account the fact that Crimea's population consists of 70 percent of ethnic Russians.

At the same time, a telephone poll of 100 people from Simferopol has shown that all of the 100 polled prefer to listen specifically to Radio Rossii and, at worst, would agree to a division of cable broadcasting between Kiev and Moscow. It looks, however, as if the Crimea Television and Radio Company is not very interested in the views of radio listeners.

It is curious that the Crimean Supreme Soviet instructed the Council of Ministers, as recently as this summer, to try to find funds in the budget for relaying radio stations in which Crimeans are interested; however, nothing has been done about this.

By the way, as Crimean deputies admit, the relay of Radio Rossii in the Crimea does not meet Ukraine's state interests. Is it necessary to say, however, that the specifics of the Crimea—its state independence and the traditional gravitation toward Russia that has come about over the course of history—require a more pragmatic approach toward republican radio broadcasting.

Fortunately, the Simferopol Radio and Television Broadcasting Center is more understanding of the needs of Crimeans and has been relaying Radio Rossii in full, 24 hours out of 24, on the medium wave. Alas, this transmitter is not very powerful and is operating only in a radius of 30 km.

For the time being, it is not clear whether the previous volume of broadcasting of Radio Rossii will be reinstated on the first channel of the radio network, but it can be confidently said that, on the eve of the elections of the Crimean president, the latest actions by the Republican Television and Radio have not been very wise.

National Guard Assists Troops on Russian, Belarus Borders

LD0511121893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev, 4 Nov—One of the duties with which the National Guard of Ukraine is charged is to facilitate the task of the border troops in protecting the state border. A situation has now arisen on the borders of our republic whereby the border guards need active help from the guardsmen. By a decision of Lieutenant General Volodymyr Kukharets, commander of the National Guard of Ukraine, the personnel of the Donetsk and Lvov formations have begun interaction with the border troops as from 1 November. National Guard military details are on duty 24 hours a day at the control posts and border posts with the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus.

In the first three days of duty, the guardsmen stopped a number of attempts to illegally take out of Ukraine various valuables, loads pertaining to the national economy, and food to the total value of 1.732 billion karbovantsi.

The press service of the National Guard of Ukraine reported this.

Speaker Stresses Cooperation With Israel

LD0411213993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] The HOLOS UKRAYINY newspaper today published the speech by Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, at a meeting of commissions of the Israeli Knesset. The centuries-old history of Ukrainian-Jewish coexistence, Ivan Plyushch said, has known various times. There have been both negative and positive moments in it. However, this is above all a history of peaceful coexistence, cooperation, and a joint struggle against invaders. We view the development of relations between Ukraine and Israel, the chairman of the Supreme Council emphasised, as one of the priority directions of Ukraine's foreign policy.

National Affairs

'White Brotherhood' Members on Hunger Strike

AU0411212393 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 2 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Fact"]

[Text] Many Kiev medics refuse to attend to members of the so- called White Brotherhood who are on a hunger strike. Last Sunday [31 October], the ambulance refused to respond to one such call. The medics explain that these "White Brothers" are entitled to do what they like with their own lives.

Appeal on Activity of Sect

AU0511121693 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 4 Nov 93 p 2

["Appeal": "The Main Center for Public Relations at Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs Has Conveyed the Following Appeal to the Mass Media"]

[Text] Over the last few days, increasingly more groups of members of the so-called "Great White Brotherhood" have been arriving in Kiev. They intend to take part in unlawful provocative actions dedicated, in accordance with the plan by leaders of the sect Yu. Kryvonohov and M. Tsvihun, to the alleged "end of the world," which, in their opinion, must occur at the end of November.

This, so-to-speak "God's last holiday on earth" starts in Kiev on 1 November. In accordance with Kryvonohov's and Tsvihun's plan, this orgy will culminate in acts of mass self-destruction by members of the "White Brotherhood" and by the ascension of the "Living God—Maria Devi Christ."

According to preliminary data, over 100,000 members of the "Brotherhood" are expected to arrive in Kiev. At present, the Kiev Militia has detained, for various violations of law, about 300 "brothers" who arrived in the Ukrainian capital from many countries of the CIS. Some of them have been handed over to their parents. Some of those detained, due to their extreme emaciation, have been hospitalized in local clinics. The rest are kept in reception and distribution centers. Even though the overwhelming majority of them have no documents, many of them have already been identified.

In this connection, the leadership of Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs appeals to all those citizens whose children have left their homes and found themselves in the criminal snare of the "White Brotherhood." With all questions connected with the search for your grandchildren, children, brothers, and sisters who are members of this sect and who left their homes earlier, please turn to the operational headquarters of Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Kiev City Administration for Internal Affairs via the following telephones: 291-31-16, 293-82-94, and 212-91-88."

Leader Calls For 'Mass Sacrifice'

AU0511104593 Paris AFP in English 0329 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By Iulia Mostovaa]

[Text] Kiev, Nov 5 (AFP)—She calls herself "Maria Devi Christos" or the "Seventh Messiah," and the "White Brotherhood" sect she leads has urged 150,000 acolytes to join a mass sacrifice here on November 24, the day she says the world will end.

Once assembled in the Ukrainian capital, they plan to follow her to heaven in an orgy of self-immolation by fire or starvation.

With several dozen ceaselessly chanting young followers already encamped since Monday in Kiev's main square, the sect is causing Ukranian authorities grave concern.

The government has outlawed the sect and convened a top-level emergency committee to counter its propaganda, while police have issued an arrest warrant for its guru, Yuri Krivonogov, a self- styled reincarnation of John the Baptist who police believe has fled to Poland.

Police detained Monday about 50 of the chanting "White Brothers" who, in line with the sect's policy of banning contact with relatives, have remained deaf to pleas by their distraught families to return home.

On Tuesday some 40 others were carted off to psychiatric centres, press reports here said.

Krivonogov, a former professor from the mining region of Donetsk, is wanted on charges of "anti-social agitation aimed at provoking mass violence," exploitation of minors and illegal appropriation of land, authorities said.

He has invested his wife Maria Tsvygun with the title "Seventh Messiah."

Claiming to base their apocalyptic theories on the Cabala, a Jewish mystical text, the couple has announced November 24 as the end of the world in tracts that have flooded Kiev and also surfaced in Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

According to Tsvygun, just 144,000 "angels" will be saved from the cataclysm and ascend to heaven in her company following a mass sacrifice by fire or starvation.

The remainder of humanity, she maintains, is destined to perish with no hope of salvation, although the White Brothers' sacrifice will expiate their sins.

According to the tracts Kiev was chosen because it is the city of devils and demons.

While awaiting the end of the world, the "Seventh Messiah" decreed ten days of repentance beginning November 1 but disappointed her disciples by failing to appear Monday in the city square.

Prior to the gathering there police had arrested and hospitalised some 70 followers.

Although suffering from acute malnutrition, they have refused all food, medical authorities told the local press, adding that most are lice-ridden and covered in sores.

On October 29 the government formed an emergency committee under Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Julinsky to coordinate a response to the sect's plans.

According to police who have infiltrated its ranks, the "White Brotherhood" aims to attract between 120,000 and 150,000 followers to the city square on the big day.

The "brothers," meanwhile, have refused to communicate with the authorities while keeping up a constant stream of chanting.

Around their necks hang small pouches, each containing a small, irregularly shaped white stone.

The "White Brotherhood" is the latest in a long line of sects that have emerged in the ideological vacuum and profound social and spiritual confusion caused by the collapse of communism and the Soviet state.

Although most prolific in the Baltic states, several have also sprung up in Russia and Ukraine.

Crimean Communists Publish Draft Election Manifesto

LD0411132593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Simferopol—On 2 November the first edition of the newspaper 'KOMMUNIST KRYMA' [CRIMEAN COMMUNIST], which until now was called 'NASH HOLOS' [OUR VOICE], published the draft election platform of the Crimean Communist Party. In particular, the draft envisages the renewal of the single economic space of the CIS countries, state control, and planning under diverse forms of ownership. In the event that Ukraine does not enter into a tighter union with CIS countries, the Communists have proposed that Crimea should do this independently.

The draft pays special attention to the social protection of workers. The platform's draft will be confirmed at the republican party conference on 20 November. The Communist Party's candidate for the post of Crimean president will then be determined.

Officers Union Concerned Over Election Ban on Candidates

LD0411135993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—As a UNIAN correspondent has learned from confidential sources, the talk at the recent plenum of the Ukrainian Union of Officers was not only about preparing for the congress of officers, which is to take place on 11-12 December, but also about the coming elections in Ukraine. In particular, a vague situation has arisen with the possible nomination of candidates from the Union of Officers of Ukraine, in as far as the Union of Officers has the right to propose its candidacies to parliament as a public organization, but the draft law on elections of people's deputies, elaborated by the commission of the Ukrainian Supreme Council for legislation and legality, does not envisage the military working in parliamentary structures.

"We consider this ban to be a gross violation of human rights," Hryhoriy Omelchenko, deputy head of the Ukrainian Union of Officers and candidate of legal sciences, commented on this draft law.

National Democrats Set Date for 'Election' Congress

LD0411142693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—Representatives of the URP [Ukrainian Republican Party], the Democratic Party of Ukraine [DPU], Nationwide Movement of Ukraine [VNRU], the Union of Ukrainian Students, the Womens' Society, the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, the Society of the Repressed, the "Crimea United with Ukraine" Committee, and the Society of Cossacks of Kiev and Kiev oblast, took part in a meeting of the Congress of National Democratic Forces [KNDS] Council Presidium on 3 November. It was decided to hold the first founding congress of the KNDS on 4 December, which would declare itself to be a pre-election bloc.

In response to a proposal from the Kiev cell of the Society of Cossacks, the issue of the national-democratic forces' attitude to the attempt by left-wing parties to celebrate the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution was discussed.

As Mykhaylo Horyn, chairman of the URP, noted in a conversation with a UNIAN correspondent, no significant event ha occurred in Ukraine on 7 November in its entire history. The Bolsheviks staged a coup in the neighboring state of Russia. Therefore, the attempt by communist forces to celebrate this date, which incidentally the present Russian leadership banned from being celebrated following the bloody events in Moscow, may be assessed as disrespect to a neighboring people.

Rukh Blames Communists for Ukraine's Current State

LD0411224393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—A news conference on 3 November by the People's Movement of Ukraine [Rukh], in which Vyacheslav Chornovil, Les Tanyuk, Viktor Pynzenyk, and Yevhen Pronyuk took part, was about the economic situation in Ukraine and the international hearings on the criminal essence of communism planned for 5-7 November. In the opinion of the participants of the news conference, the crisis in Ukraine is conditioned by the communist nomenclature being in power.

"We have got a good chance of doing the rounds of the Weimar Republic," said Pynzenyk, "when one has to pay more for one's dinner than it cost at the time when one ordered it." He conducted an analogy between the latest decisions of President Leonid Kravchuk, in particular the latest decree by the Ukrainian president on suspending trading at the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange, and the decisions adopted on the eve of the war in Yugoslavia.

Pynzenyk also reported that countries of the West had decided to close all credit lines to Ukraine. Tanyuk, head of "Memorial," reported that the purpose of the coming hearings was to reveal the criminal theory and practice of communism. Rukh Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil stressed that the registration of the Communist Party of Ukraine had been illegal, because, as the communist congress in Makeyevka stated, it is not creating anew, but is renewing the banned Communist Party. According to Pronyuk, head of the Society of Political Prisoners and Repressees, an interstate agreement is needed to conduct an international tribunal.

Data on Nuclear Arms Deployed on Republic's Territory

WS0411145793 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian 3 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by V. Tymoshenko, assistant professor of the military department at the Lvov Polytechnic Institute under the rubric "POST-POSTUP File"]

[Text] Some 130 intercontinental ballistic SS-19 missiles [ICBM] are deployed in Ukraine. Each missile can carry six warheads with total explosive potential of 550 kilotonnes, which is 27.5 times larger than that of the Little Boy atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The SS-19 was designed by Chelomey's designer bureau located in Arkhangelsk Oblast Plesetsk. The SS-19 is a two-stage liquid-propellant fourth-generation ICBM. Its maximum range is 10,000 kilometers and the minimum range is assessed at 850 kilometers which permits hitting targets in Europe and Asia. The SS-19 are deployed in Mykolayiv Oblast Pervomaysk, Vinnytsya, and Khmelnytskyy Oblasts. The Army was equipped with these missiles in 1984. A division armed with SS-19 is a unit consisting of 10 to 12 regiments, including the units servicing warheads and maintaining missile systems. Highly proficient officers for these units are trained at Dzerzhynskiy Military Academy in Moscow, Mozhayskiy Military Institute in St. Petersburg, and a number of military colleges.

There are 24 railroad-based mobile SS-24 ICBM's located in Ukraine. These missiles are one of the latest Soviet designs and were deployed in 1987. The SS-24 is a fifth-generation missile equipped with individual homing devices, carrying 10 warheads with a total explosive potential of 100 to 550 kilotonnes. The missile was designed by Nadiradze's bureau and is produced in Biysk, while its propelling units—in Pavlodar. This is a solid-propellant ICBM with maximum range of 10,000 kilometers and a maximum deviation from the target of 0.1 miles. These missiles are deployed on railroad platforms that constantly circle within the range of 200-250 kilometers.

Thus, Ukraine is in possession of 176 ICBM's with 1240 warheads. The aggregate potential of nuclear arms deployed in Ukraine amounts to 36,250 bombs dropped on Hiroshima.

Aside from this, heavy bombers equipped with nuclear weapons are also stationed in Ukraine. These are the Tu-160 Blackjack and the Tu-26 Backfire bombers designed by Tupolev's bureau and produced in Kazan. They are equipped with approximately 400 pieces of nuclear munition. The Tu-160 is a four-engined variable geometry long range supersonic bomber.

The other type is the well-known Tu-22M Backfire—the twin- engined variable geometry medium bomber capable of carrying two pieces of nuclear munition.

Lobby Blamed for Decision on Chernobyl

WS0411150093 Kiev VECHIRNIY KYYIV in Ukrainian 27 Oct 93 p 2

[Article by Olha Safraan and Valentyn Smaha: "A New Nuclear Clock Started Ticking"]

[Text] In the future, our people will probably not have fond memories of the present Supreme Council. The only thing it could be credited with is the Declaration on State Sovereignty and moratorium on construction and activation of new nuclear reactors in Ukraine. It also decided to shut down the Chernobyl station this year. However, with only several months left in the year, it has become clear that the horrible Chernobyl monster will continue to exist on the anguished Ukrainian land... This article was written to prove that by keeping the Chernobyl nuclear power station [ChAES] in operation, we risk abandoning the much-vaunted moratorium and losing our state's independence.

The Supreme Council decision can easily be traced back. On 28 September, the state commission for reactivation of the ChAES secretly gathered for a meeting. A decision to continue operation of the ChAES beyond the end of this year was adopted by a majority vote, with 12 "yes" votes, one "no," and three abstentions. Representatives of the Ministry of Environmental Protection, the Ministry of Health, and the State Atomic Supervising Committee declined from voting. Only a representative of the Supreme Council Commission for Chernobyl Catastrophe Issues was outspoken on his position and voted against the decision.

The ballot's results are more than strange if you recall how many political careers were made thanks to the Chernobyl tragedy and how many bureaucratic positions mushroomed in a specially created ministry put in charge of eliminating the Chernobyl aftermath. Now, all those people are simply not interested in biting the hand that feeds them. Also opposed to the prospect of a ChAES shutdown are representatives of the once-powerful nuclear agency of the late USSR, who not only flocked to the last communist nomenklatura holdout in post-socialist Europe, but also managed to occupy its highest positions.

A peculiar thing about the quick career of Mykhaylo Umanets, for example, is that every accident or emergency at the facility that he managed helped him climb another rung on the career ladder. Mr. Umanets became director of the ChAES because he managed the Leningrad nuclear power plant, where there was an accident with the RBMK reactor, also installed at the ChAES. Two fires at the Chernobyl station were just enough for this man to be appointed head of the Ukrainian State Committee for Nuclear Power Engineering.

Mykhaylo Shtrembberg, an old-time nuclear lobbyist, is responsible for nuclear security in Ukraine. Heorhiy Kopchynskyy, former head of the relevant section of the CPSU Central Committee and of the Bureau for Atomic Power Engineering of the Soviet Government, is also an influential person in the nuclear ministry. These people (and many others) have the kind of morality that upholds anything that is good for the industry, and everything that gets in its way is either ignored or twisted into myths—dispelled long ago.

The Ukrainian nuclear lobby resorted to cunning political gamesmanship. In May of this year, the Ukrainian Power Engineers and Electricians' Association held a symposium entitled "ChAES: Scientific, Economic, and Social Consequences of Political Decisions" that exhibited the lack of a united stand by experts on the possibility of the station's continued operation. However, in an appeal to the Ukrainian president, Supreme Council, and Cabinet of Ministers, the symposium's organizers ignored the position of opponents of continued operation of the Chernobyl station and passed it off as everyone's.

We again want to emphasize an obvious thing—Mr. Umantes' assurances that nuclear energy is the cheapest alternative for the Ukrainian people are not true. Our debt to Russia for nuclear fuel has reached a critical point, and the cost of burying nuclear waste is appalling. The development of nuclear power engineering based on obsolete equipment, not to mention without our own fuel, ties us to the former Big Brother even closer than the oil problem. The presence in Ukraine of highly dangerous RBMK reactors, which were primarily designed to generate "raw material" for nuclear weapons, turns the country into a supplement for the military-industrial complex of Russia, whose policies toward Ukraine are unpredictable.

Finally, one more important point: By continuing to run the ChAES, we cannot receive international aid intended to improve security conditions at our nuclear power stations. Why? Because the only condition on which it could be received is the decommission of the Chernobyl monster.

As you can see, interests of the ministry run counter to those of the state, but Ukraine's nuclear lobby drew civil servants to their side and held the public and the Ukrainian Supreme Council in a nuclear checkmate. The last hope is to bring this issue to the attention of the popularly elected president, Leonid Kravchuk, who according to the Constitution, should serve as guarantor of the country's national security. In addition, he is now executing direct leadership of the government, finally handling powerful leverage for our hopelessly sluggish executive branch.

This is why the Ukrainian branch of Green Peace sent President Kravchuk a letter that, among others, says the following:

"We, the Ukrainian branch of the ecological organization Green Peace, are concerned by the dangerous plans to continue operation of the ChAES. The accident at the Chernobyl power station dealt our country a severe blow, inflicting huge damage to the economy, the people's health, and the ecology of Ukraine and other European countries.

"The International Atomic Energy Agency classified the RBMK-type reactor as dangerous. Its design flaws and complicated operation present a threat of repeated accidents. Mr. Sorokin, the ChAES director, said that as the Ukrainian people have already paid 270 million rubles (in 1984 prices) for measures intended to heighten safety conditions at the station, no one has yet come up with any scientific analysis of the expediency of those improvements.

"A report by the International Fire Security Organization, which visited the station in June 1993, found the station's fire control system unsatisfactory, and pointed to the fact that a concrete bunker around the No. 4 reactor has started to erode. Further operation of the ChAES, especially in the condition of economic crisis, can have unpredictable consequences for our country.

"According to World Bank estimates, abandoning nuclear power stations is possible both technically and economically, and without a high risk of disrupting the flow of energy. Foreign and national economists believe that administrative and technical measures could save us 45 to 60 percent of energy—so it is clear that the 2 percent of our power we receive from the ChAES cannot disturb the country's overall energy balance.

"Today, Ukraine has no concept of state regulation of nuclear security and industry, as well as a legal basis for ensuring security for the population and personnel servicing nuclear plants in the event of an accident. All the assurances of our nuclear experts that another Chernobyl disaster is impossible remain empty words.

"The Ukrainian people already know the price of the 'peaceful atom.' In a public opinion poll conducted by the Ukrainian Power Engineers and Electricians' Association, 80 percent of residents in Kiev, Kharkiv, Donetsk, and Lvov support the Supreme Council decision to shut down the ChAES in 1993. During the bus tour of Ukraine organized by Green Peace, 15,000 signatures of those who agree with the legislative decision to call a moratorium on the construction and activation of new nuclear plants were collected in only nine days.

"Given the complicated nature of nuclear problems, the disastrous state of the Ukrainian economy, and the moral and material burden carried by our people, we call upon you, Mr. President, to assume responsibility and press for the shut down of the ChAES and implementation of the Supreme Council decision declaring a moratorium on the construction and activation of new nuclear reactors in Ukraine!"

Incidentally, the president's favorite game is chess. This is why it is not so difficult for him to understand that the abovementioned decision to keep the Chernobyl station in operation is a result of an unfair, but well-thought, game conducted by the people that worry only about their positions, and not the fate of Ukraine. There is no compelling economic, ecological, political, or social evidence in favor of keeping the ghastly Chernobyl monster open. An independent Ukraine cannot survive entangled in ministerial nuclear myths. A new accident could be our country's last...

Given all this, the president indeed could have his say. As for the Supreme Council, we have already heard its evil word. If the people's deputies (at least their so-called majority) are really sure about the harmless consequences of the station's reactivation, why did they refuse to vote for this by name? On what do they count, after all? Have we forgotten everything in the seven years since the Chernobyl disaster? Residents of Kiev, busy with their daily search for bread, will not protest, watching the last-gasp parliament plant a mine in our future?

These are vain expectations. The public is beginning to voice its position and will eventually demand an accounting of everything—the present felonious amnesia, thousands of ruined lives, and our troubled and poisoned land.

Defense Minister, Military Producers Discuss Future Plans

WS0511113393 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] On 4 November at the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces was discussed at a meeting between Defense Minister Colonel General Vitaliy Radetskyy and general designers and directors of the military industry complex.

Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy emphasized that it is necessary to establish Ukraine's military industry complex, which would correspond to future nuclear free status of the country. He said that it should be based on a clear-cut military-technical policy based on Ukraine's intellectual and production resources. Concrete Defense Ministry proposals were outlined by Lieutenant General Ivan Oliynyk, deputy defense minister.

Representatives of the military industry complex spoke about the complicated situation in the complex and their views on measures for overcoming the crisis. It was emphasized that unless money for the military industry complex is earmarked in the near future, the scientific and human resources that have been developed over dozens of years will be squandered. Eventually, this will weaken the country's security. Valentyn Lemish, head of the Supreme Council's Committee for Issues of Defense and National Security, also attended the meeting.

New Ruble-Karbovantsi Exchange Rate Fixed

LD0411114193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—A new exchange rate for the Russian ruble of 30 karbovantsi for one ruble (compared to 25 karbovantsi last week) has been fixed at regular trading of the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange on 3 November. This is eight points higher than at the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange. "The volume of sales today, Oleh Andronov, director of the Ukrainian Interbank Currency Exchange, informed a UNIAN correspondent, has exceeded the Moscow ones by almost 300 times and came to 3,879,440,000 rubles with preliminary demand of 4,208,780,000 and preliminary supply of 3,380,490,000 rubles."

Kravchuk Signs Decree on Measures To Curb High Inflation

LD0411230093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1445 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—On 3 November Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk signed a decree "On Measures to Curb Price Growth Rates" with the aim of curbing high inflation rates. The decree, in particular, says: "Enterprises and organizations of all forms of ownership can change wholesale prices for products (goods, services) only in case there is a growth in production expenditures that does not depend on their economic activity." In setting new wholesale prices, profitability is calculated on the expenditures growth sum at a ratio of 0.5 of the achieved level, except for cases when this level does not exceed 10 percent. Besides, the volume of profitability in relation to the prime cost within the new price should not exceed 45 percent. For all the subjects of entrepreneurial activity engaged in trade, supply, and distribution, the top level of trade margin during the sale of products to consumers is set at the rate of 55 percent of the manufacturer's price.

The Cabinet of Ministers has been obliged to elaborate and introduce within one month a mechanism of state regulation of prices and tariffs for the products in the sphere of construction, agriculture, science and scientific servicing, and also insurance. State regulation of prices for oil products sold on Ukraine's territory is to be introduced by 1 December 1993.

Sobolyev on Measures To Implement Decree on Commodity Bonds

LD0511001893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1445 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—On 4 November, Deputy Ukrainian Finance Minister Borys Sobolyev had a meeting with journalists. The talk was about the elaboration of measures to implement the decree by Ukraine's president "On issuing state commodity bonds of Ukraine's national resources." In the opinion of Sobolyev, of late, a campaign has been launched in the press that endangers the implementation of this decree. Meanwhile, its implementation, in the opinion of the deputy minister, is real, because lately the government has supplemented the decree with a system of specific measures. This is, in particular, the setting up of a fund for providing financial guarantees to foreign investments and the defining of the priority investment projects in the fields of industry, communication, and agriculture.

Replying to the question why the bond regulations were not subject to publication, Borys Sobolyev remarked that in the entire world a certain level of competence with such documents was ensured, in particular, by way of a limited access to information. As an example, Sobolyev mentioned the negotiations with the creditors within the framework of the London and Paris clubs in which he participated. Only a press communique was published upon the results of their work, however, no specific mechanisms of crediting were made public.

Social Democrats Criticize Presidential Decree on Bonds

LD0411213193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—The Board of the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine made public a statement on 1 November on the Ukrainian president's decree "On issuing state commodity bonds of Ukraine's national resources." In particular the statement notes that "the unlimited power of the bankrupt and mercenary nomenclature is not only naturally leading to the economy's crash and the complete impoverishment of the population, but also threatens the sovereignty and very existence of the Ukrainian state." In the opinion of the Board of the Social Democratic Party, the decree "contradicts the current Constitution of Ukraine, the declaration on state sovereignty, and many of Ukraine's laws. Therefore it should be viewed as a decree which does not have legal force."

The Social Democratic Party of Ukraine also stated that if it comes to power, duties in accordance with the state commodity bonds of Ukraine's national resources will be considered to have lost their force, and the property acquired for these bonds will be nationalised." [no opening quotation marks as received] The Board of the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine has called on potential investors to refrain from acquiring these bonds.

Industrial, Government Leaders Oppose Fixed Exchange Rates

WS0511094493 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 26 Oct 93 p 4

[Report by Yelena Pokrovskaya: "Deputies Have Shown Consistency and Unanimity in Their Decision To Free the Dollar Exchange Rate"]

[Text] Last week, a meeting between people's deputies who are directors of large enterprises and representatives of ministries and departments was held. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk also attended the meeting. The deputies-directors were surprisingly unanimous. First of all, they emphasized that it is necessary to establish a government department to coordinate the external economic activities of all branches of the economy. With the same unanimity and decisiveness, managers of the flagships of our industry insisted that the fixed dollar exchange rate be discontinued. In the course of the meeting, they came up with a proposal to impose a state of economic emergency in the near future, and to introduce a distribution system for basic consumer goods. All the deputies' proposals were submitted for further consideration.

Additionally, one of the responsible Supreme Council Secretariat officials reported that two permanent legislative committees—the Committee for Foreign Affairs and the Committee for Economic Reform and Administration of National Economy—had sent a letter to the administration, in which they also suggested that the fixed dollar exchange rate be discarded. Even though "following cancellation of the hard currency exchange rate, prices for energy sources will jump dramatically, it will cause less damage to the economy than the sluggish policy of the National Bank of Ukraine," said the Supreme Council official. D. Pavlychko and V. Pylypchuk, heads of the two committees, hope to receive an answer before the end of October.

According to confidential sources, the debate on hard currency exchange rates will continue over the next four or five days. The point is that there are strong coalitions of supporters as well as opponents of a fixed dollar exchange rate. There are even rumors about a banking-commercial lobby...

Belarus

Government Approves Agreement With Russia on Ruble Zone

LD0511052393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2004 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] The Belarussian government has approved the agreement 'On Practical Measures to Create a Ruble Zone of a New Type' signed in Moscow on September 7. The document has been sent for ratification by a parliamentary session to open in Minsk on November 9, the government press office said.

Speaking at a briefing in Minsk on the same day, the head of the government's economic department, Anatoliy Dryomov, said "Belarus should not give up the idea of an economic union with Russia." In his opinion, "Belarussian and Russian politicians should reach an understanding on this issue, as such a union would be profitable to both countries."

Dryomov supported lifting customs duties as the first order of business, since it is the duties that cause Belarus's deficit-stricken budget. He believes the return of the single economic space will prove impossible as long as the system of bilateral clearing is in operation.

Opposition Figure Supports National Currency

WS0411145193 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Unattributed BELAPAN report: "Latest Events in the CIS Ruble Zone Viewed"]

[Text] At the request of a BELAPAN correspondent, Belarusian People's Deputy Vladimir Zablotskiy, "prime minister of the shadow cabinet," has commented on the Belarusian position regarding the latest events in the CIS ruble zone (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have refused to remain in the CIS ruble zone). According to Vladimir Zablotskiy, the main point for Belarus is a solution to the issue of its own payment notes. He supports the introduction of a Belarusian national currency. "Russia is also urging the introduction of national currencies. After their stabilization, we could speak about expanding the Russian money and credit system," he added. Vladimir Zablotskiy stated that the planned unification of Russian and Belarusian monetary systems can be implemented only if Belarus becomes a member of the Russian Federation.

Legislative Leadership Discusses Economic Union, Policies

WS0511150193 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Belarusian Leadership Discusses Economy"]

[Text] On 4 November, a joint session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the leadership of the National Bank, and the Belarusian Scientific-Industrial Association [BSIA] was held. A wide range of issues was discussed, including the draft treaty of CIS economic union, customs and tax policies, and clarifying relations with Russia. Participants in the session have authorized the appropriate Supreme Soviet commission to coordinate with the BSIA on a package of laws to be discussed at the upcoming session of the Republican legislature, and to discuss the documents drafted by the BSIA.

Shushkevich Favors Nuclear Power Despite Chernobyl

LD0511000693 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1900 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] As is known, on 21 October the Supreme Council of Ukraine abolished the previously adopted resolution on the closure of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] by the end of this year. Many people have reacted to this decision with anxiety and alarm, in Ukraine itself and in our republic. A letter of protest addressed to the president of the neighboring republic has been sent by the Greens Party of Belarus, the majority of whose members are inhabitants of Gomel Oblast, i.e. the oblast that suffered most significantly from the Chernobyl disaster.

How does the leadership of our republic relate to the decision of Ukraine, in particular Stanislav Shushkevich, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus?

In a speech at a plenum of the Federation of Trade Unions, he was asked such a question. As a person, it is very hard for me to say this in a republic, the health of whose citizens was powerfully affected by Chernobyl, remembering the victims and knowing that in the clinics there are children hopelessly ill as a result of Chernobyl, noted Shushkevich. As a statesman, it is easier to speak of it. Ukraine, having analyzed the situation in detail, has decided that given the energy famine that has come about there, a step back must be made. It is very hard for me to reproach Ukraine for being concerned about its inhabitants, stressed Shushkevich. I think that if we want to live at the level of European countries, then without nuclear energy we will not achieve such a level. We must make a most serious analysis and reflect on how we can get out of the energy crisis and dependence on Russian fuel. In a word, as a political activist and a specialist in nuclear physics, Shushkevich is in favor of atomic power stations.

Kebich Pays Visit to Lithuania; Energy Supplies To Resume

WS0511102993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] As we have reported, at the invitation of Lithuanian Prime Minister Slezevicius, Belarusian Prime Minister Kebich paid a visit to Vilnius. A broad range of problems in bilateral Belarusian-Lithuanian relations was discussed. Great attention was paid to prospects for economic cooperation between the two countries.

During their meetings, the two sides approved the recent developments in Belarusian-Lithuanian relations in all spheres. Previous arrangements for signing treaties and agreements between the Republic of Belarus and the Lithuanian Republic are advancing successfully from the beginning, which was done by signing the declaration on principles of good-neighborly relations between the Republic of Belarus and the Lithuanian Republic on 24 October 1991. Over these two years, a series of important bilateral agreements have been signed; other agreements concerning demarcation of the Belarusian-Lithuanian border and the simplification of border-crossing regulations, as well as on traffic relations between Belarus and Lithuania, are already being implemented.

The Belarusian side expressed satisfaction with the Lithuanian decision to postpone the introduction of visas for Belarusian citizens entering Lithuania until 1 January 1994. In this regard, it was stated that this decision by Lithuanian authorities will strengthen ties and bonds between the citizens of both states. Both sides acknowledged that the friendship and cooperation agreement between the two states will be a great [word indistinct] stimulus for strengthening friendly and good-neighborly relations between the Republic of Belarus and the Lithuanian Republic. They expressed the need for the urgent arrangement of this agreement and signing it this year.

The Belarusian side invited a Lithuanian Government delegation of the highest level to visit Belarus in early December 1993. The invitation was gratefully received. Both sides viewed the question of establishing a joint bank which will facilitate economic transactions between the two states. The parties reached an agreement on the long-term preferential lease of the sanatorium Belarus as well as on the final settlement of border demarcation in 10 days' time. An agreement was also reached on participation in developing and using the port and terminal in Klaipeda, as well as on the opening of commercial representational offices in both countries. The Belarusian side pledged to begin paying off its debt for energy supplies, and the Lithuanian side, in turn, committed to the resumption of energy supplies to the Republic of Belarus.

U.S. Military Experts Arrive To Inspect Disarmament Efforts

WS0411150493 Minsk RID in Russian 1026 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Report by Boris Shavarskiy: "They Have Urgent Plans"]

[Text] On 3 November, a group of U.S. military experts arrived in Minsk to conduct a trial inspection of the dismantlement of military hardware under terms of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

An RID correspondent has learned that another group of military experts—this time from France—will arrive later this week. The inspection site will only be announced once the team arrives at the airport.

Such frequent visits by foreign military inspectors are caused by the fact that each country has established a yearly quota for such inspections. Thus, Belarusian military teams have conducted two inspections in Europe this year.

Agreement on Investment Protection Signed With France

WS0511115293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] A new agreement on mutual assistance and investment protection between the Republic of Belarus and the French Republic will be a great stimulus for businessmen. This important document has been signed in Paris at a meeting between a Belarusian Government delegation, headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikovich, and representatives of international financial organizations and donor countries. The agreement anticipates full and all-embracing protection and security of capital investments for both sides, as well as the free transfer of income and payments from one country to another.

Before signing the document, the Belarusian delegation met with French Budget Minister Sarkozy and Minister of Economy Alphandery. The heads of those financial and economic ministries expressed support for the Belarusian course of reforms and the willingness of France to render financial and technical assistance, first of all, for overcoming deficit, [word indistinct] balance of payments, and the high rate of inflation.

Moldova

IZVESTIYA Interviews Dniester Republic Leader

PM0511092193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Dniester Republic President Igor Smirnov by Aleksey Chelnokov; place and date not given: "Dniester Region Not Suffering From a 'Nonrecognition Complex'"]

[Text] Despite a lull lasting several months, the Dniester region remains one of the most explosive points on the map of the former USSR. It is clear that a solution to the conflict, which for the time being has been internalized, depends in equal part on Moldova and on the position of the unrecognized Dniester Republic. Today your IZVESTIYA correspondent Aleksey Chelnokov spoke with Dniester Republic President Igor Smirnov.

[Chelnokov] The Dniester Republic is not taking part in the talks between Moldova and Russia and your representative did not attend the recent meeting between M. Snegur and Russian Premier V. Chernomyrdin. Why was that?

[Smirnov] Russia is putting on its political face. Since the events of October it has had no time for us. But we are not begging for contacts. The most important thing is for our representative to participate in talks on military issues.

[Chelnokov] Has the relationship between Russia and the Dniester Republic changed since the October events?

[Smirnov] I have to say that nobody from the Dniester region officially participated in the "defense of the White House." Moscow, it seems, knows this, and therefore no economic pressure is being felt in the republic. After all, this makes no sense both from the viewpoint of the Kremlin or our people, since we supply 80 percent of our production to Russia.

Generally speaking, any political rearrangement in Moscow hits the Dniester region hard: New people come onto the scene who have to be shown the blindingly obvious—that, for example, we are building a postcommunist society here.

[Chelnokov] What sort of society are you building on the left bank of the Dniester?

[Smirnov] We see the Dniester Republic as a deideologized democratic state abiding by international legal norms. These principles are enshrined in the republic's draft constitution.

Moreover, our state has been formed: All the institutions of power have been established, including our own army, security services, and so forth. I can assure you that in this situation we could live without Russia, only life would be harder for us....

[Chelnokov] And would you be able to survive without the 14th Russian Army stationed in Tiraspol?

[Smirnov] There is no doubt that the 14th Army is a strong stabilizing factor in the Dniester region. But we would be poor leaders if we did not think about the possibility that it might withdraw from our territory. We are encouraged by the fact that, first, the Dniester Republic is not the same entity as it was before, and second, that force will not solve the problem in this region.

[Chelnokov] Nevertheless, as far as I know, both Moldova and the Dniester region are building up their military potential. The Moldova Republic Ministry of Defense has recently bought several Russian-made military helicopters through the Mals firm.

[Smirnov] Moldova has the potential to purchase weapons, just like Russia and Romania. This is worrying and compels us to set up our own armed forces. The Dniester Republic has been denied this opportunity, and therefore we must rely entirely on our own resources. I will tell you this, and you can draw your own conclusions: Some 37 percent of the former Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic's military potential is located in the Dniester region—that is all.

[Chelnokov] Is political dialogue really impossible? Will the Dniester region take part in the formation of a new Moldovan parliament, for which elections will be held in February?

[Smirnov] Until a number of political issues are resolved, we do not intend to participate in the elections. First of all we need to officially define the status of the Dniester Republic as a federal republic inside Moldova. Then we need to be given guarantees: our own national guard, and also our own legislation, judicial system, and so forth. Only then, in our view, can we hold joint elections for federal organs. But Moldova is currently unwilling to agree to our demands.

[Chelnokov] So what is the way out of the present deadlock?

[Smirnov] I think that the economy will eventually force the politicians into a rapprochement. Moldova's economic position is currently not brilliant, to put it mildly. And incidentally, it needs our electricity and fuel and lubricant products. We simply have to wait for the next generation of leaders to come to power—pragmatists rather than nationalists. And we need to enlist the support of guarantors—Russia, Ukraine, or Belarus.

Commission Expresses Concern Over Dniester

AU0511140393 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 3 Nov 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "To Control With Four Pairs of Eyes"]

[Text] Moldovan representatives to the Joint Control Commission for Settling the Crisis made a statement in Chisinau in which they expressed concern about the exacerbation of the situation in the zone of the Dniester conflict. Cochairman of the commission V. Katane believes that provocations on the part of the Dniester Region's armed formations that are becoming increasingly daring following the failure of the mutiny in Russia may lead to the resumption of hostilities. Moldovan representatives in the commission also spoke in favor of renewing the quadripartite mechanism for settling the conflict with the participation of Moldova, Russia, Romania, and Ukraine. They proposed that a new Russian-Moldovan agreement be signed that would guarantee peace in the region and also invited observers from Russia to the Dniester Region.

Presidential Adviser Discusses Election Campaign

LD0411231893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1620 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] A parliamentary election campaign is getting under way in Moldova. A central election commission has been set up, and the nomination of candidates will start shortly.

In an interview with Interfax, presidential adviser Nicolae Chirtoaca analyzes the situation.

Corr.: With the election campaign gaining momentum every day, one naturally wonders what role President Mircea Snegur is playing in it?

Nicolae Chirtoaca: The president is at the moment undertaking what are extremely complicated and important tasks, of ensuring that the political democracizing of society continues and that being the main advocate of reform and market economics.

He also has moral duties to perform during the election campaign, and that is also very important. With the kind of political culture that has taken shape in our society, it can't be ruled out that all kinds of methods could be used in the present election campaign, including those aimed at discrediting various parties and leaders. The president must therefore ensure that political rivalry takes civilized forms. Another important point is that the president must ensure national unity. In this transitionary period disagreements existing in society must by no means be allowed to lead to antagonism between different social strata.

We must ensure that society is unified on such key matters as the territorial integrity of the country, patriotism and the principle that the aim of rivalry among parties is to bring into the foreground those who are able to take responsibility for the implementation of the reforms.

Those are the main points which determine the president's position in the difficult period of the election campaign.

Corr.: What is your forecast for the outcome of the struggle for the 101 parliamentary seats?

N.C.: It's obvious that not a single party is able to get the majority in the parliament by itself. As far as leading parties, I would above all, name the Agrarian Democratic Party, whose objectives meet the interests of part of the rural population and the Social Democratic Party, which proposes concrete programs of reforms and is prepared to pursue a clearly formulated policy. I would also add to them the Congress of the Intelligentsia and the Democratic Labor Party, which will most likely form a coalition.

Extremist views are held by the Popular Front and several smaller aggressive pro-Romanian parties, as well as by the Socialist and Communist Parties, which would like Moldova to be solidly incorporated into the CIS.

It seems to me the main struggles will occur between those two groups of parties. But they will apparently form coalitions with other political organizations. This will most likely happen towards the end of the election campaign.

Corr.: How many people, do you think, will show up at elections?

N.C: We have a total of 2.8 Mn electors throughout Moldova. In Transdniestria there are 800,000 electors, but only about 10 percent of that number are expected to vote. That leaves us about two million.

Corr.: Are there any other factors in the republic that might have a negative effect on the social and political situation during the election campaign?

N.C.: What poses the greatest danger to our society today is potential antagonism between different social strata, because most of our parties, except the Social Democratic Party, lack a distinctive ideology. None of them have any distinctive belief that could bring any of them together. For this reason forming coalitions is difficult.

For example, the leaders of the Agrarian Democratic Party are interested in some reforms but only in so far as they don't contradict their idea of land ownership. To put it in simpler terms, they stand for collective land ownership and all the forms of agricultural production that involves.

But it doesn't seem to me that that party represents the absolute majority of the rural population. What's very important here is the position of pro-reform centrist parties. Much will depend on whether they will be able to enlist the support of that part of the population and on whether they will manage to form a progressive coalition.

Kazakhstan

'Powerful Radioactivity' Detected at Aktyubinsk Plant

LD0411092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0838 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Almaty November 4 TASS—An extremely powerful source of radioactivity was discovered under a thin layer of road-metal on the territory of a plant of metal and concrete constructions in the city of Aktyubinsk in the north-west of Kazakhstan.

Measuring devices registered the level of radioactivity as exceeding 200 roentgen per hour. Doctors said radiation disease is guaranteed to everyone who remains close to the source for several dozen minutes.

The source was spotted by a helicopter which was making routine gamma-spectre filming of Aktyubinsk.

To evacuate the dangerous find a lead container with the walls at least 40-centimetre sick was made and the source of radiation was taken by the helicopter to the burial ground for radioactive waste.

It remains unclear how the source of radiation got to the plant's territory and for how long was it exposing people to mortal danger.

Concern Over Nuclear Device at Semipalatinsk Site

LD0411223493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0915 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty, 4 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—The fate of a nuclear device which was buried in 1989 in shaft no. 108 of the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground will, it seems, soon be decided. According to Major-General Fedor Safonov, deputy head of the testing ground in charge of scientific work, Arzamas-16 [nuclear research center in Gorkiy oblast] is now "simulating options for destroying this dangerous device. As soon as an additional access shaft has been sunk, specialists from Kazakhstan and Russia will determine its condition and decide which of the proposed methods of destruction should be used."

Four years ago everything was ready for a routine test involving the nuclear device, when President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan issued a decree closing the proving ground and terminating nuclear tests at it. Under the circumstances the military decided not to risk exploding the device and left it buried in the shaft.

According to today's issue of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, Boris Litvinov, chief designer of nuclear charges, rules out the possibility of a spontaneous explosion. However, he feels it is essential to find out the condition of the explosive device, since there is no guarantee that it won't detonate during the construction of the additional access shaft.

Nazarbayev Outlines Plans for Army Restructuring

PM0511133593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Nov 93 p 3

[Unattributed report from the "News" roundup: "A Small and Well-Armed Army Is Required"]

[Text] Kazakhstan is set to reorganize the structure of its Army, "to all intents and purposes completely updating all combat arms, equipping it to high standards, and, of course, cutting its strength somewhat." This was stated by President Nursultan Nazarbayev during a visit to the 358th Motorized Rifle Regiment near Almaty and the Air Assault Brigade based at Kapchagayskiy garrison in Almaty Oblast.

In the president's view the Army should be mobile, well armed and highly skilled, and manned by trained officer personnel. In training personnel Kazakhstan intends to collaborate not only with its strategic ally—the Russian Army—but also with the armies of EC and NATO countries. "It would be desirable to take on board everything which is best in the world's armies," N. Nazarbayev said.

He stressed that Kazakhstan's military doctrine is defensive in nature, with its main thrust being the defense of state borders, territorial integrity, and independence. "Our state is not aggressive. Kazakhstan harbors no kind of territorial claims against any state," the president pointed out.

According to N. Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan is guaranteed a peaceful environment and good relations with its neighbors thanks to the 1991 Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation with Russia, documents signed recently with China on the absence of mutual territorial claims, and an agreement with Iran on nonintervention in domestic affairs in the political, economic, or religious spheres.

Deputy Premier Views Issues Surrounding Ruble Zone

PM0511125193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report on interview with Deputy Prime Minister Asygat Zhabagin by Vladimir Ardayev, place and date not given: "Kazakhstan Is Prepared to Live Autonomously but Russia Needs the Ruble Zone"]

[Text] Within the CIS it has been constantly asserted that a ruble zone needs to be created, but never before has it been in such a suspended state as it is now. The effective collapse of the work of the Russian-Kazakh joint intergovernmental commission has once more confronted Kazakhstan with the need to choose: either a continuation of the long, agonizing, and often fruitless search for a compromise, or else transition to the completely new status which would be expressed in the introduction of a national currency. How does the Kazakhstan Government view the prevailing situation? That was the topic of conversation between your correspondent and Asygat Zhabagin, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Yesterday's sovereignty euphoria has now evaporated. All the political disputes have now been reduced to discussions about the monetary system: the ruble or the tenge—that is the question. But even here there is no free choice—it is predetermined by the protracted search for agreement with the eternal neighbor, friend, and main partner—Russia. If there is agreement, the outcome will be the ruble. If not, it will be the tenge. What then?

"Then very large-scale disruptions are inevitable," A. Zhabagin said. "For the new unit of currency to achieve stability and be spared rampant inflation from the outset it will be necessary to close the borders for a few months and completely block the movement of goods across the border. That will also mean halting the shipment of grain, ore, metals, oil, and coal to Russia. And bear in mind here that such industrial giants as Magnitka, for example, operate on Kazakh raw materials, that Kazakhstan was the only producer and supplier of chrome in the former USSR, and that all the power stations in the Urals are fired by Ekibastuz coal. Consequently a considerable proportion of Russia's enterprises will simply grind to a halt. This is not a threat or attempted blackmail but the inevitable consequence of the process of rejection which Russia is experiencing."

In A. Zhabagin's opinion, he, as a government leader responsible for the day to day management of the economy, began to experience that process this summer when the supply of Tyumen oil to the Pavlodar oil refinery ceased, as IZVESTIYA reported on a number of occasions. A harsh condition was put forward: All the enterprise's debts to the Tyumen oilfields must be redeemed.

The money exchange, A. Zhabagin recalled, was started by the Russian Government, taking the partners in the ruble zone by surprise, and they did not have time to set up even a meager reserve of the "new" money for settlements with Russia.

Nevertheless, Kazakhstan's economy has survived, A. Zhabagin asserted. It has withstood everything—the mistakes and inactivity of the Kazakh Government structures, the inability of leaders at all levels to work in the new conditions, and even the effect that the processes taking place in Russia inevitably have had and are continuing to have on Kazakhstan. In his words, the republic has taken and passed the test of survival alone. In Kazakhstan they have now created stocks of everything that they need to be able to withstand any development of events. However, Kazakhstan will not be able to escape the global upheavals resulting from the final collapse of the ruble zone and Kazakhstan will not be the only one to suffer from them.

A. Zhabagin said that according to the foreign experts' assessments, Kazakhstan today is a zone where capital can be invested with the maximum effectiveness and where profits can be obtained which are fantastic by world standards. In view of this and also the fact that the republic's economy has begun to display the first, albeit faint, signs of recovery, it may be claimed that Kazakhstan is capable of a fully autonomous existence and could join not only the ruble zone but the "dollar zone" as well, he reiterated. But this does not mean at all that a break with Russia would be a matter of indifference to us—no, the very closest cooperation is quite simply beneficial both to Kazakhstan and to Russia. For example, why should we buy timber from Brazil when we can buy it far closer to home—in Russia? Why should Russia buy Canadian wheat when Kazakhstan is right next door?!

In short, the need for the closest integration between our two states is glaringly obvious. But to form relations on the basis of ultimatums is unproductive.

In this connection your correspondent asked his interlocutor the following question: If Russia is, as he says, resorting to arm-twisting and setting its ruble zone partners conditions which it knows are unfulfillable, such as the introduction of a system of control over gold and hard currency reserves, does Kazakhstan then not intend retaliating with economic pressure? Kazakhstan is perfectly capable of doing that, was the reply. But it is not going to, because the president and the government are still hoping that common sense will prevail in the actions of their Russian colleagues.

When this report was being prepared for press it emerged that Daulet Sembayev, deputy head of the Kazakhstan Government, had stated: The fundamentally new conditions unexpectedly put forward by the Russian side at the talks in Moscow are known in advance to be unacceptable. In fact Kazakhstan will be forced out of the ruble zone if it actually comes into existence, and at present the potential for a fusion of the financial systems has simply been wasted, he said. The Kazakhstan vice premier placed on the Russian side the entire blame for the breakdown of the work on the unified monetary systems.

Answering a question about the timetable for the introduction of the Kazakh national currency, D. Sembayev said that this process must be completed by the new year. He also announced that Kazakhstan is hoping for substantial help from the international financial and economic institutions.

Steel Industry Chiefs Urge Government Support

PM0411100593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Nov 93

[By K. Mukatov and V. Losev from Kazakhstan; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A conference of Russian and Kazakh metals and mining industry leaders has been held at one of Kazakhstan's biggest mining enterprises—the Sokolovsko-Sarbayskiy mining production association. The topic of discussion was inflation and the crisis affecting reciprocal payments between the two states, which are disrupting traditional ties between Kustanay miners and Magnitka metal workers going back more than 30 years. The Magnitogorsk, West Siberian, and Orsk-Khalilovo metals combines are faced with the threat that deliveries of millions of tonnes of iron ore will be discontinued. In turn, the Sokolovsko-Sarbayskiy association could be deprived of deliveries of equipment and materials from Russia which it needs for its normal operation.

Despite all their differences of opinion, the conference participants agreed that support at the level of both states' governments is necessary.

Kyrgyzstan

Supreme Soviet Session Begins 2 Dec; Agenda Issued

LD0311112693 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] At its sitting yesterday, 2 November, the Kyrgyz Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium resolved to hold the 13th session of the 12th convocation of the Supreme Soviet in December, beginning on 2 December. The agenda will include the following items:

1. Report given by the Kyrgyz Government on its achievements in 1993;

2. Guidelines for the economy of Kyrgyzstan for 1994-95;

3. The government's program to broaden the economic reforms in the Kyrgyz Republic in 1994-95;

4. The budget of Kyrgyzstan for 1994;

5. Citizenship of Kyrgyzstan;

6. Export regulations [words indistinct];

7. [Words indistinct]

8. The Criminal Code and the Administrative of Rights Code;

9. The Ministry of the Interior;

10. [Words indistinct];

11. [Words indistinct];

12. [Words indistinct];

13. The Constitutional Court of Kyrgyzstan;

14. The Procurator's Office of Kyrgyzstan;

15. The election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet;

16. Referendums [words indistinct].

[Signed] Sherimkulov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz Republic

[Dated] 2 November 1993

Tajikstan

Supreme Soviet Issues Edict on Border Protection

LD0411140593 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] The Tajik Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted an edict on measures to increase the protection of Tajikistan's state border. The edict notes:

The situation on the Tajik-Afghan section of the Tajik state border remains complicated and tense. Attempts to violate the border by large formations, with direct participation of the Afghan mojahedin are not being stopped. The bodies of state power and local authorities of the border rayons are rendering insufficient assistance to the Russian border troops and to the units and sub-units of special assignment troops of Tajikistan's national security committee in order to protect and reinforce the border.

The work with the population of the border rayons in this direction is hardly being carried. The law enforcement bodies of the border rayons do not always suppress in good time the criminal actions of the separatist citizens and groups.

To strengthen protection on the Tajik-Afghan section of the state border, render maximum assistance to the Russian border troops, and stabilize the situation in bordering rayons, the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

The Tajikistan Ministry of Defense, executive committees of the Gorno- Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast soviet of people's deputies, oblast, town, and rayon soviets of people's deputies, are to take all necessary measures on bringing up to strength by means of recruits for units and sub-units of the Russian group of border troops in the Republic of Tajikistan and the special assignment units and sub-units of the Tajikistan National Security Committee, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the fall draft of citizens to active military service.

Personal responsibility is to be placed on the heads of the executive committees of the oblast, town, and rayon soviets of people's deputies for the organization and implementation of selecting recruits, and ensuring the full and timely supply of the contingent of recruits to the Russian border troops and the special assignment units.

Recruits are to be selected who can successfully act in the conditions of the emergency situation on the state border by their morale, will, and physical features, and those who possess a heightened sense of responsibility for the position entrusted to them with regard to service in the units of the Russian border troops and in the special assignment units. The full text of the edict will be published.

Situation 'Stable' Thanks to Coalition Forces

PM0411112993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 93 p 2

[Igor Lenskiy report: "Silence Rocked by Explosions"]

[Text] At the request of the Tajik leadership, a 25,000-strong contingent of coalition peacemaking forces from Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan has been brought into the republic to stabilize the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border. Colonel General Boris Pyankov, until recently deputy commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, has been entrusted with the command of the coalition peacemaking forces.

This measure was necessitated by repeated provocations on the border over the course of the year. The climax was the July tragedy in the sector of the 12th border post, when an incursion by an Afghan Army grouping claimed the lives of 25 Russian servicemen. It emerged that part of the blame for the irreplaceable losses lies with Russian Defense Minister P. Grachev, who had failed to carry out a decision by the Russian Federation Security Council to reinforce the border with 201st Motorized Infantry Division forces.

After plans for a large-scale incursion from across the Pyandzh River collapsed, the mojahedin switched to a tactic of infiltrating small groupings across the border and then massing in base areas on Tajik territory, and of fanning a lengthy guerrilla war. In this connection, according to General A. Tymko, first deputy commander of Russian Federation Border Troops, it was decided to establish a stratified defense of the border, with border troops stationed between the border line and the line of border posts, and the contingent of peacemaking forces then stationed for a distance of between 5 and 7 km. The coalition peacemaking forces' tasks include analyzing the military-political situation on the border and taking part in the negotiating process and, if need be, operational actions. Extreme means can be employed by the coalition peacemaking forces with the approval of the participant countries' defense ministers. In special cases, the coalition peacemaking forces commander is entitled to employ the entire arsenal to repulse an attack, submitting a subsequent report to the heads of states and defense ministers. National formations are financed wholly by the states sending them, according to the norms existing in these countries.

In an interview for PRAVDA, Zafar Saidov, chief of the Tajik Foreign Ministry Information Department, evaluated the situation on the border in the wake of the introduction of the coalition peacemaking forces as stable and encouraging. However, an anxious silence was broken Sunday when a detail of the 12th border post was subjected to mortar fire. Attempts at an armed breakthrough on the Khorog section were stopped.

At the same time, diplomatic efforts to conclude a Tajik-Afghan treaty on peace, friendship, and cooperation have been unsuccessful so far. According to Zafar Saidov, right now it is possible to talk merely about a package of agreements on the principles of relations between the two states. A visit to Dushanbe by Afghan President B. Rabbani originally scheduled for 20 September has been inexplicably postponed.

Adamishin Reiterates Moscow's Position on Border

OW0511090693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Report by N. Mirsaidov for the Mir Interstate Television and Radio Company from Tajikistan; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] During the past week, our republic was visited by Anatoliy Adamishin, special representative of the Russian Federation president and first deputy minister of foreign affairs. He was received by Imamali Rakhmonov, head of the Tajik state. During the talks, military issues were given important attention. Anatoliy Adamishin also visited the Tajik-Afghan border.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Have any changes occurred in the approach to solving the conflict in Tajikistan?

[Adamishin] We should probably separate two points here. Of course, the situation has changed during this time. In some ways, it has changed for the better; in other ways, it has not. As far as Russia's approach is concerned, well it has not changed, and this approach lies in finding solutions to the questions that have arisen in this region primarily through political methods. This does not exclude the possibility that if there are military attacks these attacks will be repulsed.

We do not start these things. We have corresponding agreements with our Tajik friends and with our colleagues in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan and we will fulfill our obligations. But the main accent is being put on finding a common language with forces having various political orientations, as the Moscow declaration literally puts it, to find peaceful solutions. [end recording]

Deputy Interior Minister Updates Crime Situation

LD0511103193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0958 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 5 TASS—Shots and submachine-gun burst sound in the Tajik capital at night. However, the tendency to the improvement of the socio-political situation in Tajikistan is apparent, said Amirkul Azimov, Tajikistan deputy minister of the interior. He also said in an interview to the republican newspaper HOLOS TAJIKISTANA that the decrease in the number of the criminal offences in Dushanbe and its suburbs is the result of a large-scale operation to combat crime that was launched by the Tajikistan law enforcement bodies three months ago.

Azimov said that over this period special units of the Interior Ministry and the national security committee disarmed several groups of terrorists and of the mafia. Hundreds of units of firearms and large numbers of ammunition were confiscated. As many as 600 people without the residence permit have been expelled from Dushanbe. Some 250 apartments from which their owners have been driven by persons posing as refugees have been restored to their lawful owners as a result of a massive check on the observance of the passport regime.

The decree of the Tajikistan parliament adopted in October 1993 which, specifically, regulates the entry of citizens to the Tajik capital also helped stabilise the socio-political situation. Azimov said units of law enforcement bodies and of the Tajik Defence Ministry man checkpoints around-the-clock to prevent the bringing of arms, ammunition and narcotics to Dushanbe and the entry of criminals into the city.

Rakhmanov Meets Dushanbe City Soviet Employees

LD0411211593 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 0400 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] A meeting between Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet, and the heads and employees of Dushanbe city soviet of people's deputies, heads of enterprises, organizations, industrial amalgamations, cooperatives, and trade organizations took place the capital's City Executive Committee yesterday.

A thorough talk took place on the situation of the economy in the capital and in the republic, on labor discipline, and the obligations of the heads of enterprises.

It is important at present not to only produce the output but to deliver it to consumers, the head of state pointed out. It seems to me that many enterprises are working for foreign consumers while the children of the settlements and villages of Khatlon and other oblasts and rayons of the republic are not provided with shoes and clothing.

The head of state drew the attention of those present at the meeting to the need for state and production discipline without which the way out of the economy from the crisis is impossible. He paid special attention to the safekeeping of the produced output. Imamali Rakhmanov demanded that the law enforcement bodies should strengthen the fight against thieves of national property.

Clandestine Radio Warns of Coup in Preparation

LD0311151693 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] A serious coup d'etat is being prepared in Tajikistan. This was reported by a [word indistinct] source of the National Security Committee. This source has learned that the leaders are aware of the coup d'etat, but have not reacted to it.

It is said that, if the Supreme Soviet is not convened, the coup d'etat will be a military one.

Bank President Says No Plans To Replace Ruble

LD0511051693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2113 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Dushanbe November 5 TASS—Tajikistan has no plans to introduce its own currency, although the final decision will depend on the results of the talks with Russia in Moscow, Tajikistan's National Bank President Kayum Kavmidinov said.

The statement followed the decisions by several Central Asian Republics to introduce their own currencies to replace the rouble.

Kavmidinov said the exchange of old banknotes in Russia has had a negative impact on the social and economic situation in Tajikistan. Almost all payment operations have been frozen, which has resulted in a sharp production decline in the republic, the bank president said.

Turkmenistan

Economic Successes Since Independence Examined

PM0411160193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Nov 93 First Edition p 7

[Georgiy Smolnikov report: "The Turkmen Phenomenon: Everyone Has Begun To Live Better"]

[Text] Ashgabat—Turkmenistan has been celebrating the second anniversary of its independence. Whereas other countries that used to be our brothers in the Union have been celebrating with some restraint—since the economic situation does not permit them to bang the drum loudly—Turkmenistan has been celebrating the "red letter" days on its calendar as befits a state with a balanced budget and good prospects for the future.

When asked by journalists whether his country planned to make loans to Turkmenistan, Iranian President 'A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, who paid an official visit here the previous day, replied that, in his opinion, the Iranians' northern neighbor is a wealthy state and needs no financial help.

As probably the most socioeconomically backward republic in the former Union, following independence Turkmenistan has unexpectedly found itself in a more favorable initial position than its neighbors.

Paradoxically, the lack of any major industrial installations—which had until recently seemed to be the Achilles heel of a republic that had been developed purely as a raw-materials appendage of the center—has become a stabilizing factor now that customary ties have been broken and production facilities are grinding to a halt.

Turkmenistan has not applied the Russian model to its economy. President Saparmurad Niyazov—who, incidentally, was the first popularly elected president anywhere in the former Union—has opposed shock therapy and experiments from the very outset. While some of S. Niyazov's colleagues have virtually taken to kicking the people into the world market economy, he, on the contrary, has chosen the path of evolutionary reform and reliable social protection—particularly for the less well off.

Having grown accustomed over the preceding perestroyka years to looking into every detail of the life of his almost 4-million-strong "kolkhoz," Niyazov has constantly enhanced his standing not with striking speeches but with concrete and very original action. Giving his small security staff the slip, he was able to tour the bazaars, listen to people, and then reprimand the officials responsible for supplying cities with agricultural produce.

He has introduced huge state subsidies so as to maintain the lowest prices for basic foodstuffs in any of the CIS countries. He has kept his promise to provide free supplies of natural gas, electricity, and drinking water to the population as of early 1993.

Setting the task of achieving grain independence, he is keeping the progress in resolving this task under personal control. Suffice it to say that the grain harvest increased by 70 percent over the year. And the president's promise to supply the people with bread that is not only their own but also free by 1996 now no longer looks so fantastic.

Niyazov has been successful in rejecting the path of universal farm privatization—for which, in his view, neither the peasants themselves nor the state were ready two years ago. By retaining the kolkhozes and skillfully promoting agricultural production through purchase prices, he has saved the countryside from crisis. This year—which has by no means been favorable in terms of climatic conditions—a good harvest of over 1.3 million tonnes of raw cotton has been gathered in.

The republic has unexpectedly been helped out not only by the industriousness of the country people growing the cotton, but also by natural gas—which used to be sold literally for pennies. It is now the republic's main source of foreign currency revenue. Calculations show that, had there been a complete transition to world prices in hard currency, this year would have seen per capita earnings of $1,300.

But so far only Russia is clearly meeting its pledges and paying for Turkmen gas in hard currency. The other former Union republics are, regrettably, still unable to.

Meanwhile, serious work is already being done on projects to build gas pipelines through Iran to Turkey and through Afghanistan to Pakistan in order to obtain direct access to the developed countries of East and West.

It is no exaggeration to say that Turkmenistan has turned into a huge construction site. Turkish joint ventures alone are building around 60 agricultural produce processing factories. Once they are commissioned there will be a sharp increase in production of cotton, grapes, vegetables, and livestock products. Foreign investors are attracted by the calm and friendly atmosphere, which is enhanced by legislation that provides privileges for people helping to create a business.

The results of the republic's socioeconomic development are encouraging. For instance, monthly national income has increased by 2 percent, production has increased by 18 percent over the past nine months, and output worth 4.5 billion rubles [R] has been produced over and above the plan. A national currency has been introduced.

Still to come is privatization, for which, the government is convinced, the people are now ready. Admittedly, there will not be any illusory vouchers here. Through their free gas, electricity, and water the people of Turkmenistan are receiving not pieces of paper, but a real slice of the country's wealth. It is planned to sell privatization offers to substantial people who have submitted and defended their plans to improve the work of various enterprises in the republic's interest. The funds thereby earned will be returned to the population in the form of social privileges and subsidies. In short, the market is inevitable, but it is being built in Turkmenistan not for people who have managed to earn billions in the transitional chaos, but in the interests of the bulk of the country's citizens in the light of the realities—the existence of a huge number of large and poor families.

The recent step by President Niyazov, who by edict increased eightfold citizens' bank deposits which were R10,000 or less as of 1 January 1993, is typical. Such people account for almost 97 percent of all depositors.

Of course, Turkmenistan has its problems too. But one thing is beyond dispute—the republic has preferred to sail independently out of the storm created by the collapse of a great power.

Niyazov Criticizes Ministers, Bankers

LD0411232893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1620 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Turkmenian President Saparmurad Niyazov, at an extended meeting of the cabinet of ministers, accused heads of numerous ministries and agencies of misunderstanding his policy. A large portion of the cabinet meeting was devoted to the problems that arose in the aftermath of introducing the manat, the national currency, and price liberalization.

The head of state accused bankers of fraud during the currency exchange in which 60 manats were issued to every citizen. "I know who was running around with a pile of passports in hand or who said that they would exchange their money first and then would find their passport and bring it in later," Niyazov said. In his words, as a result of such tricks, some people had a lot of manats and used them to devour the stocks of consumer goods prepared for November. "That was mafia money," he said.

The president criticized the agriculture minister for overpricing. Niyazov said that he would not tolerate increasing the prices of goods that are subsidized by the state. He also said that price rises should not be allowed to get out of hand before enough manats are available. This will not occur, he said, for at least three more months. Only then can a realistic exchange rate be established.

Numerous observers note that the president seemed more concerned than he had been on October 5 when he had criticized "sharp price rises." They believe that Niyazov is seriously concerned over the possible loss of trust in his monetary policy.

The meeting also discussed preparation for privatization of factories, trade, and services. The first stage of this process is to start this December. The president demanded that a list of businesses which will be sold at auction be compiled. He confirmed that the state would have a controlling interest in businesses that become joint stock companies.

Doubts, Hopes Greet Introduction of New Currency

PM0311140393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Vladimir Kuleshov report: "Turkmenistan Bids Farewell to the Ruble with Artillery Salute"]

[Text] Ashgabat—The introduction of Turkmenistan's national currency last Sunday was greeted with a ceremonial 20-gun salute in Ashgabat.

"As of 1 November 1993, the sole legal tender on the territory of Turkmenistan is the manat," President Saparmurad Turkmenbashi's edict says. "From then on, banknotes of the USSR State Bank and the Central Bank of Russia issued between 1961 and 1992 and securities of the USSR Gosbank lose force on the territory of Turkmenistan."

Thus the introduction of the national currency, the necessity of which has been supported so long and hard by Saparmurad Turkmenbashi, has taken place. New prices were posted up in all the stores in the republic on 1 November: A loaf of bread now costs 0.20 manats, 1 kg of meat costs 6 manats, 1 kg of butter costs 7 manats, 1 kg of sugar is 1.40 manats, "Russkaya" vodka is 5 manats, and a pack of cigarettes is 1 manat.

The exchange rate of the Turkmen currency has been fixed in very simple terms: 1 manat is worth 500 Russian rubles or 50 U.S. cents. The exchange of old Soviet money for manats began at that official rate on 29 October in all banking institutions and will continue through 3 November. Rubles may be exchanged only once and to a maximum of 30,000. But that is, so to speak, the official procedure for nonworking citizens aged over 16. Unofficially, however, as I have learned, people are now dragging sackloads of cash to the savings banks, collecting piles of foreign passports and certificates and exchanging their cash savings for crisp new banknotes bearing the portrait of the country's first president.

Will the manat last, is it viable, or will it go the same way as happened in Kirghizia? Many people are asking that question today. There are many doubts and many hopes. The market will show what the new currency is worth, people are saying. The market is the most sensitive barometer of trade. But whatever happens preference has been given to the manat today—it is even planned to close currency stores to ensure that trading is conducted only in manats. The president of Turkmenistan himself believes that "the manat will play the decisive role in strengthening Turkmenistan's independence, developing its economy, improving the people's well being, and ultimately in bringing about the prosperity of our native land."

Tajik Delegation Visits; Economic Agreements Signed

OW0511090293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Report from Turkmenistan by T. Logunova's for the Mir Interstate Television and Radio Company; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] The Republic of Tajikistan found itself in a complex economic situation in the past few months due to the deepening energy crisis. The severe scarcity of fuel and lubricants could become the reason for failure of the procurement plan for raw cotton, a valuable industrial raw material. This was the reason for an urgent visit by Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, chairman of the Republic of Tajikistan Council of Ministers, to neighboring Turkmenistan.

[Begin recording] [Logunova] The Tajik delegation's latest visit was to Ashgabat, where Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov held a meeting with Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov. The discussion centered on assistance to our republic, allocation of long-term credits, and delivery of fuel, lubricants, and gas to Tajikistan. The Turkmenistan president assured the head of our government that his country will help Tajikistan. An agreement on trade and economic cooperation for 1994 and on the payment of accounts was also signed.

Is the Turkmenistan side satisfied with today's talks?

[Deputy Prime Minister Dzhurakuli Babakhuliyev] Yes, we are satisfied. We reached mutual understanding on all questions, one could say. So all the issues raised by the Tajik side have been solved.

[Tajik Prime Minister Abdullodzhanov] I hope that, in future, the mutually advantageous economic ties and friendship between our two peoples, the people who live in Tajikistan and the people who live in Turkmenistan, will develop and strengthen. [end recording]

Uzbekistan

Russian Residents Say New Currency Will Force Emigration

LD0311203693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1449 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] The introduction by Uzbekistan of a national currency will cause a new wave of Russian emigration from the republic. Such is the opinion of the absolutemajority of 500 ethnic Russians - residents of Tashkent—interviewed by Interfax.

A total of 86 percent of respondents believe that by laying down unacceptable ruble zone membership terms for Uzbekistan, Russia leaves its compatriots in the lurch. 46 percent of those polled doubt that new money will be introduced in Uzbekistan and foresee an attempt to play the Russia card to gain from it the best single ruble zone option.

As many as 83 percent feel that new money would worsen the economic situation in Uzbekistan and would kindle anti-Russian feelings. Yet another 77 percent believe that such hostility was provoked by a statement made by the Deputy Prime Minister Bakhtiyar Khamidov at a news-conference on Uzbekistan's transition to a national currency. His statement was sharply critical of the Russian government's position on Uzbekistan.

'Budget Sector' Workers Get 20-Percent Pay Hike

PM0411161993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report from the "In Brief" roundup: "A New Minimum Wage From Monday"]

[Text] As of 1 November there is to be a 20-percent increase in minimum wage levels, retirement pensions, and student grants in Uzbekistan. This is indicated in an edict of the head of state. This means that earnings for all "budget sector employees" will go up simultaneously by an average of one-fifth. Students enrolled at technical schools and vocational colleges continue to enjoy preferential 50-percent discounts on meals in their own cafeterias and snack bars.

Armenia

Azerbaijanis Said Violating Karabakh Cease-Fire

NC0411210093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] According to the Armenian Defense Ministry's press service, relative calm has prevailed on Armenia's borders for the last four days.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Ministry's press service reported that the Azerbaijanis are intermittently violating the relative cease-fire agreement on the Karabakh fronts by opening fire on Karabakh positions in certain sectors along the conflict line. NKR subunits are not retaliating and are adhering to the unilateral cease-fire agreement announced by the NKR.

In recent days, the Azerbaijani mass media have disseminated reports to the effect that the NKR armed forces have allegedly raided Azerbaijan's Beylegan Rayon. The NKR Press and Information Service issued a statement today rejecting such reports. The statement said that the NKR army remains in the positions it occupied on 27 October this year and is strictly abiding by the NKR Defense Ministry's unilateral decision to halt the military operation in this sector. The statement also said that the Azerbaijani side is using this sort of misinformation to mislead the international community and persuade the international organizations to adopt sanctions against NKR.

Acting Chairman of the NKR Supreme Council Karen Baburyan said in his latest statement that the Karabakh side is ready for immediate talks with the Azerbaijani authorities to work out the mechanisms for preventing the resumption of the military operations and for withdrawing the troops from the occupied areas.

SNARK Reports Citizens 'Panic' in Ganja

NC0411141693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1228 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Baku, November 4 (SNARK)—As SNARK was informed from the sources close to the Azerbaijani military command, the question on the Ganja's defence (former Kirovabad) was considered recently in the Defence Ministry of this Republic.

Although the city is located far from the zone of the Karabakh conflict, in the opinion of war experts, taking into account the current situation, the sudden attack of Karabakh detachments in this direction may be a success. In addition, one should take into consideration the vigorous actions of Armenian guerrilla groups in the north of Karabakh in the former Shaumyanovskiy region.

According to witnesses, the additional measures were taken to reinforce the military air base's guarding near Ganja in order to stop subversive and terrorist activities. The fortification building works were started last days near Ganja. There is a sort of panic among the citizens of the city.

Deputy Foreign Minister, Nuclear Energy Chief Named

NC0411212093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Excerpts] An expanded meeting of the Armenian Council of Ministers Presidium took place today under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan. It discussed and adopted a draft bill on property tax. After further elaboration, the bill will be sent to the parliament. [passage omitted]

It decided to set up a government commission called the Petatom [State Atomic] Inspection Directorate to ensure nuclear radiation safety during the use of nuclear energy and to fulfill the demands of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The by-laws of this directorate were also approved. [passage omitted]

The meeting also discussed cadre problems. Eduard Levoni Melkonyan was appointed deputy foreign minister of Armenia. Arkadiy Levoni Avagyan was appointed head of the directorate responsible for the operations of the Armenian nuclear power station.

Other matters were also discussed at the meeting.

German Military Delegation Discusses Cooperation

NC0411142293 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 0917 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, 4 Nov (ARMENPRES)—Senior officers Steinberg and Owen from the German Defense Ministry Inspection Center visited Armenia in recent days to exchange information within the framework of a bilateral defense cooperation agreement.

Expressing satisfaction with the results of their meeting, the guests noted that the ties should be developed and extended.

The German officers also familiarized themselves with Armenian culture and architecture. A sum they donated to the fund for the protection of monuments was set aside to renovate unique architectural monuments in Nagorno-Karabakh.

An Armenian military delegation will pay a return visit to Germany.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Expected To Declare State of Emergency

LD0411211793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1620 GMT 4 Nov 93

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Interfax was informed by reliable sources in [Azerbaijan's] parliament that the introduction of a state of emergency may be the main item on the agenda of the extraordinary session scheduled for Thursday [4 November] afternoon. President Aliyev is expected to deliver a report.

Observers believe the need for urgent measures is prompted by the scope of military defeats that Azerbaijan suffered over the last months.

Earlier reports said that Aliyev for the first time linked large territorial losses (1/3 of the country's territory) with the absence of a sufficient level of defense. In view of this, the Azeri leader replaced some of the commanders [to] improve the army's morale.

IF Note: Major-General of the border-guard troops, Zakhid Rzayev, and the chief of the General Staff, Safar Abiyev, have been dismissed while Defense Minister Mamedov Mamedrafi was reprimanded. General Nadjmeddin Sadykhov was appointed chief of the General Staff. Under the rule of Elchibey and the government of the People's Front of Azerbaijan, General Sadykhov commanded the army formation deployed in the north of Karabakh.

The Front's experts believe that main reason for a state of emergency to be imposed in Azerbaijan is the desire to oust the opposition from the political arena. According to opposition experts, the state of emergency will ban all forms of dissent.

In his recent address to the nation, Aliyev called the internal political struggle for power an important factor reducing defense capability. He also accused the Front and some other opposition forces of an attempt to use the present situation on the Karabakh front to attain their political goals.

Aliyev Urges Veterans, Citizens To Join Defense

NC0411201793 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1655 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Address by President Geydar Aliyev to Afghan war veterans at the Shehriyar Club in Baku on 4 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed war veterans and veterans of the Afghan war. I thank you for responding to our call to defend Azerbaijan. In addressing the nation on television and radio on 2 November, I called for national unity and invited all citizens to take part in the defense of Azerbaijan.

In response to our call, you appealed to me to accept your services and allow you to participate in the defense of the homeland. This is truly a patriotic initiative, and it shows the extent of your attachment to your land, homeland, and independent Azerbaijan. It is also a good example for all the Azerbaijani people.

I hope that our initiative will be met with a response and thousands of brave young men will enlist in the army and defend Azerbaijan in its present grave situation. And this is how, united, we will manage to defend our country.

I noted in my 2 November address and I want to repeat that there are many people who could defend Azerbaijani lands. However, what we need most is for our people to be tied to the homeland and defend it. And I hope that our people, following past example, will henceforth take concrete steps to extricate Azerbaijan from this grave situation. Our army and defense forces must be improved, and this can only be done by the people, the army leadership, and by us here. This is our duty. We should do this together.

We have received many letters and proposals from Azerbaijani citizens in many places responding to our call and expressing readiness to take part in defending the country. I hope that all this will generate a new feeling of patriotism among the Azerbaijani people and that some people will stop being (?indifferent) and start believing that we have no other homeland except Azerbaijan and that we must defend and maintain Azerbaijani territory and independence ourselves.

I want to repeat that it is the opinion of the Azerbaijani Republic and all the citizens that this five-year-long war should end. We also want to put an end to this war. However, we must do this only by guaranteeing Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and its independence. Above all, we want to solve these problems through peace talks. However, to hold talks and achieve peace, that is, to resolve this problem through peace talks, we must strengthen our defense forces. We are engaged only in defending ourselves. The aggression against Azerbaijan has continued for more than five years. Part of our land has been occupied. However, our self-esteem has not been damaged so far. Loss of self esteem would also lead to the loss of part of our land.

I want to note that our people are a great people. Reports here show that 10,000 of those Azerbaijanis who took part in the Afghan war are now in our republic. If Azerbaijan's young men and people can fight and act heroically in another country in the ranks of the Soviet Army, they can certainly do even better for their own land. A force of 10,000 Afghan war veterans is quite a huge force. They have experience in war and military service. Unfortunately, we are unable to make use of most of the people in Azerbaijan. Often they say that we are unable to create our own army. Maybe 10 to 15 percent of this 10,000 is unable to wage war, but the rest of them are able-bodied. We have not taken advantage of this yet.

Reports here also show that you could do a great deal to defend the Republic, even under these conditions, and extricate the Republic from these grave conditions. For our part, we will create the proper conditions for you. We have come here to meet you, and I call you to arms. We believe that your response and the promises made by your representatives here are genuine and spring directly from your hearts. That is how we see it.

In expressing my gratitude to you, I want to tell you that I am sure that you will continue with your initiative and gather all the able-bodied individuals in the Afghanistan War Veterans Society and that you will take your well-deserved place in the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry and participate in Azerbaijan's defense.

I hope that you will keep your promises. I trust you, knowing that [words indistinct] you have experienced war, that you returned to your homeland after that bitter war, and that you love your country. If you did not love and long for your homeland, you would not have come here on your own initiative. If you did not love your homeland, you would not have had [word indistinct]. I value these things greatly and express my many thanks.

The Defense Ministry leadership is here before you. I have ordered them to take the necessary organizational steps in connection with your initiative to ensure all your forces' participation in the defense of the Republic.

I say again: We are defending our homeland, our land, and our state. Therefore, ours is a just cause, and every man who loves his homeland must enlist in this task to discharge his duties as a citizen.

I thank you again. I wish you health, peace, and success in your determination to participate in the defense of the homeland. Thank you.

Aliyev Appoints State Adviser on Economic Policy

NC0411184793 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Presidential decree issued in Baku on 4 November]

[Text] It is hereby decreed to establish the post of Azerbaijan Republic's state adviser on economic policy, and to appoint Vakhid Dzhumshit ogly Akhundov as Azerbaijan Republic's state adviser on economic policy. [Signed] Azerbaijan President Geydar Aliyev

[Dated] Baku, 4 November 1993

Further Appointments

NC0411190993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] By a decree signed by the Azerbaijani president, Tofik Muhsin ogly Abbasov has been appointed the press secretary of the Azerbaijan president.

At the instructions of the Azerbaijani president, Nadzhat Emir ogly Guliyev has been appointed first deputy minister of foreign economic relations. Abulfaz Mehmetsagi ogly Musayev has been released from this post.

At the instructions of the Azerbaijani president, Fatma Huseyin gyzy Abdullazade has been appointed the director of the humanitarian policy department attached to the Azerbaijan president's office.

Restrictions Imposed on Baku Entertainment Places

NC0411184693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] In connection with the worsening situation in the rayons at the front and the existing condition in Baku, the chairman of Baku City Executive Committee has issued the following instructions:

1. It has been found appropriate to end the working hours of all the enterprises in Baku, regardless of the form of their ownership, at 2000 hours.

2. Social and wedding festivities in all public places should last only until 2200.

3. The use of an orchestra, audio and video equipment, recordings, and the playing of music should be stopped at the social and wedding festivities at these public places. The activities of all the discotheques should be stopped.

4. Only caterers and buffets on scheduled work should be active in hotels, railway stations, and sea and air ports after 2100 hours local time.

5. The activities of the state and commercial organizations operating casinos, gambling shops, and similar entertainment objects in Baku should be temporarily halted.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Meets Black Sea Fleet Chief, U.S. Ambassador

LD0411201793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1610 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Report from Tbilisi by IPRINDA correspondent Zurab Dvali]

[Text] In Poti today Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze met with Rear Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet. The sides discussed matters connected with the participation of Russian servicemen in exercising control over transport communications in western Georgia. Landing forces arriving on six naval ships will take control of the main sea, rail, and road routes in the western region of Georgia.

It has been learned from unofficial sources that about 200 landing troops have already come ashore.

After his talks in Poti, Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze returned to Abasha, where he had a meeting with Kent Brown, the U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia, who was interested in the state of affairs in this region of the republic.

Returning to the subject of transport communications in Georgia, let me cite information provided by (Igor Melkadze), chief engineer of the republic's rail directorate, according to which trains are traveling unhindered as far as Kutaisi and to Batumi city. As for the movement of traffic in the area of Poti, repair teams are continuing their work on this section and are first and foremost engaged on repairing the traction power-supply system.

In a television interview, the Georgian head of state noted that combat operations in the areas of Khobi and Zugdidi could undoubtedly incur unjustified casualties among the civilian population. Shevardnadze said that this is compelling him yet again to appeal to the supporters of the former president to cease their senseless resistance and lay down their arms. In that event everyone except for a handful of traitors and betrayers of their homeland will have their safety guaranteed, the head of state said. The entry into Zugdidi of any subunits, Shevardnadze went on to say, whether they belong to the guards or Mkhedrioni units, will have the gravest consequences. Many fighters are motivated by a sense of revenge, and this is understandable. After all a considerable part of the blame for the defeat in Abkhazia rests with the armed formations of the former president, who did not keep their promises and come to help out in Abkhazia, and indeed the fighters of the government units leaving the conflict zone were constantly humiliated and attacked by the Zviadists. I promise, Shevardnadze said, that if Gamsakhurdia's supporters end their resistance, the inhabitants of Zugdidi have nothing to fear and local people will be appointed in that city as head of the local administration and chief of police. However, for the time being, as the events of the past few days have shown, the Zviadists do not intend to end their resistance, thereby making the peaceful population of that region hostages.

Interviewed on Latest Events

LD0411154993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by Revas Egadze on 3 November; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Egadze] Batono Eduard, you have just returned from Senaki where the state authority was restored three days ago. You have been staying in Abasha for over a week. What changes can we speak about?

[Shevardnadze] To speak of changes other than the restoration of the power you have mentioned is rather difficult because everything is destroyed. Abasha is more or less orderly. Villages are gradually starting to look like villages and towns like towns. The people have calmed down a little, although they suffer hardships.

Most Georgians have one at time or another visited Senaki. Today one cannot recognize it. I have seen it myself. There does not seem to be a house that looks normal, at least within the town limits. A lot of people left the rayon while it was under the control of Gamsakhurdia's supporters. Houses have been looted. An investigation is under way.

We had an operative meeting yesterday. Today, [Vice Premier] Zurab Kervalishvili arrived with a large group of ministers, heads of departments, and they promised me, and also assured Senaki inhabitants, that within the coming week the town will return to relatively normal life. What I mean is that if not tonight then tomorrow the town will get electric power. Having received power they can start to bake bread. I have seen refugees who have not eaten a bit of bread for a week. The hospital will be back in order. Railway traffic will be restored. Mr. Vashakidze [head of the railway department] has issued operative instructions. A lot was destroyed and ravaged, as it is sometimes said. I think traffic on the Senaki-Samtredia section will be resumed either tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, then Samtredia-Poti and, naturally, Poti-Tbilisi. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, our heroes—Gamsakhurdia's supporters—again shelled the area and one lady was killed, and as far as I know two children were wounded. Several houses were burned down. I do not think that Georgia has had an enemy more ghastly and more dirty than this. But, as I have already said, this is like a childhood disease that we have to endure and we probably have to be cured of this ghastliness.

Extensive work is being carried out in Poti. I do not rule out my visiting there tomorrow or the day after. I know everything. I am aware of everything. I get in touch with the authorities, Mayor Melia and others, and the port authorities a dozen times a day. As far as I know, restoration and establishing order in the town is going on well.

[Egadze] Speaking of restoring the Poti-Tbilisi railway line, there seems to be the possibility of establishing a joint Russo-Georgian military command which will manage completely the railway and highway routes and communications, as stipulated by a Moscow agreement. How effective could this be in the long run as regards the stabilization of the situation in Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] I do not know. Is it not a little hasty? On the whole, nothing is impossible. For the time being, it is not a large mass of Russian troops participating in the guarding operation. We can speak of some five units with appropriate equipment. Each unit is comprised of 20 to 25 men with heavy equipment, a vehicle, and whatever is required by such a unit. There are five units like this in the areas adjacent to the railway and I have to say that their operation is quite effective, I mean joint guarding, joint service. There are no misunderstandings observed. This is effective because the bandit gangs are aware that if they committed crimes or blew up the railway or anything else, they would have to deal with not only the Georgian authorities but also with the Russian state, and I think they have no desire to carry on a war against Russians. I consider all that has been done so far as useful.

Now, your question about a joint management or command: This should not be ruled out because after we have reached the Inguri River and completed our military deeds we will have to deal with numerous gangs, whether we like it or not, because it has always been like this throughout history. Some gangs will remain and cause much trouble if all routes are not guarded. I cannot rule out that this might concern the routes passing through Abkhazia, not only railway but highway, too. We might have to guard airfields, also. So, this issue is worth considering and it seems as though it would be effective in the long run, but I do not want to discuss it yet. [passage omitted]

I would also like to say that guarding Poti port, and more generally guarding the Black Sea coast, will also be a serious problem for us. At the moment we cannot control the coast and we have encountered a lot of trouble precisely because someone else actually rules our shores. Tomorrow, in Poti, there might be a very interesting meeting with one of the leaders of the Russian Navy. I do not rule out a ship entering Poti base. There are two ships out at sea but this does not affect the matter. A fairly long-term perspective can be established. So there are many things in the pipeline with regard to our cooperation, so much so that we probably have to think of the management efficiency, and efficiency of guarding. Later we might speak of what conclusion or what form we can come to.

[Shevardnadze] Now, everyone is presumably interested in prospects. I will say a few words about how events will develop in the next two or three days. Today, we are not moving very fast only because we are trying to avoid casualties. Our intelligence acquired fairly precise information that rather powerful groups, basically consisting of Chechens, Cossacks, and people of other nations, and Abkhaz militants, were noticed in the territory adjacent to Khobi. There were a couple of clashes. No loss of life occurred at our side. Of those militants, three were killed, one of them being a Chechen, one Kossack, and one Russian. They, by all means, were hired by Abkhazs and sent in here. Therefore, today's advance was not very impressive but I cannot see anything negative in it. But then, when we advance, we will mop up the area, the villages. We are enforcing Senaki and Abasha so that we do not encounter what has already happened in Senaki and Poti where we had to return to what seemed to be already under our control.

Yesterday, I appealed to the population of Samegrelo with a special letter, a special address. I would like to make use of this occasion and ask Georgian radio to use my address and the present interview so that it reaches everyone through the radio.

It is rather a depressing event by itself when armed units enter a town. I think that entering Zugdidi, whether it will be units of National Guard, Mkhedrioni, or the joint troops, will be a painful experience for the local population and for us, too. I can see one way out: Zugdidi inhabitants should take care of it themselves. The way out is in the armed units' laying down their weapons, and, as I appealed to them yesterday, going home.

Speaking of responsibilities, there is a bunch of quasi-politicians, intriguers, and even among them some are less guilty. These people will not be pardoned by Georgia for what they have done. As for hundreds and even more people, they may go home and I assure them, as the head of state and as commander in chief of the armed forces, that they will have an opportunity to live and work in a normal way. [passage omitted]

Let us save Zugdidi. What we have seen in Senaki, it can be nothing compared with what can happen [in Zugdidi]. Entering Zugdidi can cause severe consequences. I am saying it honestly. I know how many soldiers have lost their friends because of the treacherous action in Abkhazia, how many were killed here, how many were shot. This all will be followed by very strong vengeance and there is nothing to stop it. [passage omitted]

They have to get rid of a man whom I call the plague. Let them get rid of him and we will appoint local people as heads of administration, police chiefs, and other posts. [passage omitted]

I have said today: Let us take care of Samegrelo. A lot of hardship was suffered here. Many families suffered huge losses. The war is still in progress. I think the principal problem may be resolved in the near future and I think that inhabitants of this province should feel that this province is flesh and blood of everyone in Georgia and it is flesh and blood of the whole Georgia. All parts of Georgia suffer at present but we all have to take care of our native, beloved, most beautiful, wonderful part and help it to heal its wounds together.

Appeals to Opponents To Lay Down Arms

PM0411172093 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Report on telephone interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent

Yekaterina Akhalkatsi; date not given: "Lay Down Your Arms and Go Home, E. Shevardnadze Urged the Ex-President's Supporters"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Georgian head of state E. Shevardnadze, who is in West Georgia, told our correspondent in a telephone conversation:

"In the next few days the armed confrontation will come to an end. I have appealed to the population of Mingrelia to urge the armed gangs of supporters of the former president to lay down their arms and stop this senseless war against the Georgian state, because the continuation of this war is ruinous for Georgia, for hundreds of thousands of people, and for their families. Whoever enters Zugdidi, be it the Mkhedrioni guard or the joint army, it will be a severe trial for the local population. I see only one way out of the situation that has arisen. Before the Zugdidi question arises, they should lay down their arms of their own accord and go home. Only a handful of politickers and intriguers will bear the responsibility. Georgia will not forgive them what they have done. As for the others, I, as head of state and commander in chief of the Armed Forces, give them a guarantee that they will be able to return to their homes. If they disarm, there will be no need to send armed forces into Zugdidi. The fact is that fighters in the government troops lost many of their friends as a result of treachery in Abkhazia. A great many people were shot and tortured.

"The Russian troops are still guarding the railroad.

"The expectation is that train traffic could be restored in the next few hours."

Further Reportage on Fighting, Situation in West

Caucasian Fighters Help Gamsakhurdia

LD0511093293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0801 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Jibuti]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Nov— "The participation of fighters from the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples in battles against Georgian Government troops on the side of the ex-president's armed formations is taking on an open character," an official spokesman of the Georgian Defense Ministry press center stated today.

In a telephone conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he reported from Tbilisi that "the confederation sustained manpower losses in the battles for Khobi." Over the past two days alone, the press center spokesman said, "250 volunteers from the north Caucasus were brought by helicopter into Zugdidi, the Zviadists' stronghold."

Government Attempting To Bypass Zugdidi

LD0511093793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] INTERFAX reports, quoting the Georgian Defense Ministry press center, that Georgian Government troops have made an attempt to bypass the town of Zugdidi, the capital of Gamsakhurdia's supporters, from the north. During the operation they approached the rayon center of Chkhorotsku. An ultimatum has been given to the armed formations of Zviadists there to end their resistance and surrender their weapons. If Chkhorotsku is taken the road to Zugdidi from the north will be open.

Gamsakhurdia Reportedly in Zugdidi

NC0511110293 Yerevan SNARK in English 0923 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Tbilisi, November 4 (SNARK)—The information that allegedly Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the former Georgian President, left for Gali town is refuted by the Georgian Ministry of Defence. SNARK was informed by the Press Centre of the Ministry that Gamsakhurdia is in Zugdidi. According to the same source the governmental troops are approaching Khobi town. No one of the parts acts determinedly.

Troops Approach Chkhorotsku

LD0511112593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Georgian Government troops have approached the rayon center of Chkhorotsku to the north of Zugdidi, which is the base of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters .

Russian marines have taken control of the center of Poti, as well as the town's railways and bridges.

'Relative Calm' Prevails

LD0511130193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1231 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 5 Nov—Relative calm set in in western Georgia today. After liberating the town of Khobi yesterday, government forces are regrouping to encircle and take Zugdidi, where ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's residence and the headquarters of his military formations are located. According to military sources, the government troops now have an operative and tactical advantage and a superiority in numerical strength and hardware. Zugdidi can therefore be taken within the next few days.

Black Sea Marines To Land Near Zugdidi

LD0511143393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1311 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi November 4 TASS—Another Black Sea Navy squadron with two big landing ships left its base of Sevastopol for the Georgian coast, the press center of the Russian Army Group in Transcaucasia said on Friday. The warships carry marines who supposedly are to be landed near the settlement of Anakulia, less than ten miles from Zugdidi, the last stronghold of Georgian ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

In the meantime, five hundred marines of the Black Sea Fleet have taken under protection the port of Poti and ajacent roads, a source in the Georgian Defence Ministry told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Friday. They are also expected to take under protection another Georgian port of Batumi and the strategic roads in western Georgia, the source said.

Measures Taken Against 'Gangs'

LD0511101593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1001 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Jibuti]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS— The Georgian Interior Ministry is taking additional measures to mop up armed gangs and marauders in western Georgia, ITAR-TASS has learned by telephone from officials of the headquarters of the West Georgia Provisional Committee's chief minister. The authorities are especially disturbed by the rampage of defeated Zviadist gangs in several towns of the Abasha and Senaki districts.

According to information received from the headquarters, four hundred agents of the Georgian police, commanded by Georgian Interior Minister Shota Kvaria, have launched operations in the town of Senaki, which is being patrolled jointly with the military police, government troops, and men from the "Mkhedrioni" corps.

As many as ten armed gangs have been rendered harmless during the past week. The police has confiscated more than 100 pieces of firearms, large quantities of ammunition and explosives.

ITAR-TASS has learned by telephone from head of the Khoni Town Council Gizo Kukhalashvili today that "about 100 families were robbed in the district, which had been under Zviadist control for three days".

Situation in Region Reviewed

LD0411175093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Statement by Zaza Bilikhodze, Interior Ministry press center employee in Samtredia—recorded]

The situation in Samtredia is gradually becoming stabilized. Bread is being baked, water and electricity are being supplied to the population.

From the crime point of view, a stabilization of the situation is noticeable. The police disclosed yesterday that they had retrieved one stolen car and caught a group of burglars.

Private and state trade installations are starting to function partially. The railway is functioning without hindrance. There is a shortage of fuel; public transport is functioning, mainly trolley buses.

Khoni is relatively quiet. Water and electricity are available. Bread is being baked. Fuel is in short supply. Private trade installations have started to function and so has transport. The criminal situation is relatively stable.

The situation in Martvili is tense but controllable. Electricity and water are available. Bread is being rationed, at 400 grams a head. Private and state establishments are functioning sporadically. Due to fuel shortages, there is no public transport. As a result of police operational efforts, several artillery shells have been found, as well as different kinds of weapons. The criminal situation here, too, is relatively quiet.

The criminal situation in Senaki is extremely tense. There are frequent instances of marauding and robbery. The population and the police are trying to eradicate banditry. Water and electricity are not being supplied to the town. Bread is not being baked. None of the state or private trade installations are functioning. The damage to the railway line by the former president's supporters has been repaired.

There is relative calm in Abasha. Bread is being baked and electricity and water are being fed to the population. A large quantity of flour was delivered to Abasha yesterday. Due to fuel shortages, transport is not functioning here either. The railway has been restored here too. From the criminal point of view, it was quiet in Abasha yesterday.

Poti has revived noticeably. Private and state trade installations are functioning, factories and establishments partly. The short supply of fuel hampers the full functioning of transport, as well as establishments and factories. The issue of restoring the railway, which had been damaged by Gamsakhurdia's supporters, has not yet been fully resolved. Bread and electricity are available. There is still no water. The police caught a large group of bandits with a large quantity of stolen goods. The criminal situation is relatively controllable.

Lanchkhuti is quiet. Quite a large quantity of flour has been delivered to the rayon. Public transport is functioning, though with a delay. Commercial trade installations have started to work. Water and electricity are available. Bread is being baked. The criminal situation in the rayon has definitely improved. Last night, the criminal situation was relatively stable.

The situation in Ozurgeti is also being stabilized. The police caught a group of wanted criminals. One Makarov gun has been found. The rayon has no water. Electricity is being supplied but with problems, hence the delays in bread baking. Fuel is in short supply. Private trade installations are functioning sporadically. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Aide on Operation To Protect Railway

OW0511091593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Report on interview with Sandro Kavsadze, personal representative of Supreme Council Chairman Shevardnadze by Aleksandr Ukhov; place and date not given; from the "Utro" program—recorded]

[Text] Next, we will talk about the problems of protecting the Sukhumi-Poti railway. Actually, since it leads to a port that processes Russian cargo to a large extent, this railway is very important not only for Georgia and the other Trans-Caucasus republics, but also for Russia. Our Georgian correspondent reports on this:

[Ukhov] When will the joint protection of the Sukhumi-Poti railway by Russian and Trans-Caucasus armies start?

[Kavsadze] I think that these measures, of which I have been informed today, have already been prepared, and general measures will begin today or tomorrow because the conditions are very difficult for both the residents of Tbilisi, western Georgia and Armenia, and also the for the servicemen deployed on Georgian territory.

[Ukhov] Will the deadline for withdrawal of Russian troops from Georgia be reviewed after all the events which have happened and are still happening?

[Kavsadze] You know, there was no such deadline.

[Ukhov] 31 December 1994.

[Kavsadze] This document has not been signed. This document was not signed, it was a draft. As to the solution of this question—not review—this will now be decided within the framework of Mr. Shevardnadze's statement, and within the framework of talks held recently in Moscow and Tbilisi. Operations are being developed for... [pauses] for the localization of military activity in western Georgia, and for liquidating the armed gangs supporting Gamsakhurdia, whose only aim is seizing power and retaliating for the political defeat he suffered a year or a year and a half ago.

[Ukhov] Are you taking into consideration that according to official statistics, about 20 percent of Tbilisi residents support Gamsakhurdia, and this percentage is probably much higher in western Georgia—it is just that there is no statistical data?

[Kavsadze] It is quite possible. But the thing is, up until now, we have not adopted the measures we should have adopted regarding armed gangs which break all the rules.

[Ukhov] Are talks with Gamsakhurdia possible?

[Kavsadze] You know, it is probably impossible now to tell of all the talks. There were a lot of talks.

[Ukhov] I mean specifically one-to-one talks between Shevardnadze and Gamsakhurdia.

[Kavsadze] There were many variants. Let me tell you, you might remember that when Gamsakhurdia was president... [pauses] and you can see for yourself that it is impossible. Talks can be held with an organization or a person who can be trusted, with whom you agree on something and then adopt a decision. But this is impossible with Gamsakhurdia.

Shevardnadze Press Service on Captured Newsmen

AU0411133793 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 29 Oct 93 p 2

["Statement by the Press Service of the Republic of Georgia Head of State"; place and date not given]

[Text] **Many international organizations of journalists organizations have demanded the immediate release of journalists taken hostage or prisoner during combat actions in Abkhazia. The Federation of Georgian Journalists has made corresponding statements and appeals recently. These humane actions toward people whose sole crime has been to carry out their professional duty are dictated not only by human compassion and journalistic solidarity but also by the desire to restore justice, which has been trampled on.**

It is astonishing that at the same time that a demand for the journalists' release was sent to the leadership of the Gudauta grouping—who perfidiously violated the cease-fire agreement in Abkhazia and was condemned by the entire world community—an appeal was also addressed to a country, hundreds of thousands of whose citizens have become the victims of war, violence, genocide, and ethnic cleansing. The assertion by the document's authors that ostensibly both sides participating in the conflict are holding journalists hostage and prisoner is completely unfounded. The journalists whose activities during the conflict were aimed at the ideological substantiation of separatist plans were, as a rule, permanently located in Gudauta and, if they did travel to combat areas, they did so only during lulls in the fighting and could never have found themselves within the reach of the Georgian side, let alone be taken prisoner. On the other hand, Georgian journalists, along with hundreds and thousands of peaceful inhabitants, were taken prisoner following the treacherous and perfidious violation of the Sochi agreement. This was how Iuri Gava, editor in chief of DEMOKRATICHESKAYA ABKHAZIA; Aleksandr Berulava, head of the press center of the Commission for Regulation of the Conflict; and others found themselves in captivity.

As regards the Georgian side, we state: We have not had and do not have any journalists among those taken hostage and captured. On the contrary, to maintain the opposite is to turn the facts upside down. However, it is doubtful that such attempts will save the reputation of the Gudauta separatists who have discredited themselves before the whole world. If there is anyone who still does not know where the journalists and other wholly innocent people captured during the conflict in Abkhazia are being held, we can tell him: in the Gudauta concentration camps, prison cells, and isolation units. Moreover, to pretend today that no one knows these facts is blatant hypocrisy and a deliberate attempt to mislead the international community.

The Press Service of the Republic of Georgia Head of State states that it will continue to do everything to obtain the release of the journalists who had been carrying out their professional duties in terrible conditions of war in accordance with the norms of international law. We ask all press staff in countries in the Near and Far East [as published] and the world community to raise their voices against this terrible danger that is threatening our colleagues in Gudauta.

[Signed] The Press Service of the Republic of Georgia Head of State

Parliamentarian Discusses Ties With Armenia

NC0511151893 Yerevan SNARK in English 0922 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Text] Tbilisi, November 4, (SNARK)—"I wouldn't like to comment the position of Armenia, which keeps aside from the participation in the railways' guarding in the Western Georgia. It is an internal affair of Armenia and its leaders". Vakhtang Rcheushvili, the vice-speaker of the Georgian Parliament said in his interview to SNARK. "I know the good attitude of Armenia to Georgia. I know how difficult the discussions on this question in the Armenian Parliament were. One the one hand, there is a strong desire to help the neighbor since Armenia is interested in the deblockading of roads. One the other hand, there is a danger of worsening of relations with the different political forces in Georgia. I understand this", he said. Besides, Vakhtang Rcheushvili pointed out that except the Shevardnadze's appeal to Levon Ter-Petrosyan to help Georgia in the communications' guarding, there is the bilateral treaty between Armenia and Georgia, according to which Armenia has taken the obligation to patrol communications, vital to the both republic. In the opinion of the vice-speaker Armenia should have taken any steps in any case.

Estonia

Laar Reaffirms Desire To Join NATO

WS0511104993 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1855 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, November 4—Estonia wants to join NATO as soon as possible, Prime Minister Mart Laar told ETA on Thursday [4 November].

Laar commented on Reuter's news from October 31 which said Laar had said his country was not ready to join NATO which... had to reform itself first.

"This news amazed me a lot," Laar told ETA. "I stress once again that Estonia is interested in joining NATO," he said.

At the same time Estonia fully understands it cannot happen very quickly as NATO must first think about co-operation forms and the ways it would like to involve eastern and central European countries, Laar said.

One of the ways to join NATO is concluding a co-operation agreement while another possibility is becoming an associate member, Laar said.

"We hope that all those issues will be discussed at the NATO summit. We are interested in NATO remaining a strong organisation," Laar said.

Velliste Addresses Council of Europe Committee

WS0511104793 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1855 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, November 4—Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste in his speech to the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers in Strasbourg today warned the council against politically motivated decisions in accepting new members.

"Estonia believes that the Council of Europe must maintain the same high standards of admission for new member states as those applied to current members," Velliste said while adding that if those strict standards were to relax it might weaken the whole organisation.

"Estonia believes that in order for the Council to retain its integrity as a guarantor of democracy and as Europe's premier standard-bearer in these questions of fundamental importance to us all, we must consider carefully the indicators of democracy that all new potential members bring to bear. Any politically motivated lowering of standards for admission to the Council could result in an undesirable decline in the prestige of the Council of Europe...," Velliste said.

Velliste also outlined Estonia's developments in protection of individual and group rights saying it was one of the state's highest priorities. Velliste pointed out that Estonia allows all permanent residents vote in local elections. The country's Russian-speaking residents made active use of their right in October's elections winning nearly 40 per cent of seats in Tallinn's city council. Estonia interpreted this as peaceful integration into society, Velliste said. He also pointed out that recently the position of population affairs minister was set up. Estonia is a model for the peaceful resolution of ethnic questions and the integration of aliens into society, he stressed.

Touching upon the Council of Europe's plans to increase cooperation with other international organisations Velliste pointed out that cooperation among member states was a prerequisite for this.

Velliste also stopped on recent developments in Baltic cooperation telling the council that the Baltic Parliamentary Assembly the chairman of which Estonia is had voted to establish a joint parliamentary-government consultative council, the Baltic Council. Free trade agreement concluded this autumn among Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania reiterated their "readiness to engage in regional cooperation" which "must form the foundation for stronger inter-organisational ties".

Estonia was accepted as full member of the council last spring.

Hungarian Social Affairs Minister Visits

WS0511111393 Tallinn BNS in English 1100 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Tallinn, Nov 04, BNS—Estonia's social transition, like that in any country, will involve the increased responsibility of its individuals and a just distribution of the social load, said Hungarian Social Affairs Minister Laszlo Surjan.

Surjan is visiting Estonia to meet with officials in the Social Affairs Ministry and the rest of the government.

As in Estonia, health and social security fall within the province of the Social Affairs Ministry in Hungary.

Hungary and Estonia face similar developments in gaining health and social reforms, the Hungarian minister said, although Hungary outstrips Estonia in solving some problems, like the transition to a health insurance system.

Hungary has established an official minimum wage and a poverty level that is higher than the minimum wage, unlike in Estonia. [passage omitted]

Surjan is the chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party, whose platform resembles that of the Estonian Pro Patria. The forthcoming meeting between Surjan and Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar is partly a meeting between party leaders.

Latvia

'Scandal' in Press Over Offer of Maps to U.S.

LD0511074993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0707 GMT 5 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga November 5 TASS—Latvia has pledged to make maps and a catalogue of coordinates of geodetical points and to turn them over gratis to the agency at the U.S. Defence Department, which is in charge of topographical information. Although the agreement has already become effective, a scandal in the Latvian press does not subside.

Commenting on the agreement, observers point out that Americans have been given extensive opportunities to do what they please with those maps, including passing them over to NATO member states. The LATVIAS JAUNATNE newspaper, not calling into question peaceful intentions of the U.S. Defence Department, stressed that such maps are especially valuable for those who operate the aircraft, give orders to the artillery and draw up programmes for cruise missiles.

On behalf of Latvia, the agreement was signed by the director general of the land service. His assistant, Aigars Stokenbergs, said that similar agreements had been signed with Poland, Czechia and Hungary. According to Stokenbergs, U.S. specialists have already spent 355,000 dollars, helping Latvia determine coordinate points. In Estonia the U.S. will finance aerial photography flights.

Lithuania has not established this kind of cooperation so far. "Its interests are probably connected with Russia," Stokenbergs said. In his opinion, such contacts will bring Latvia closer to the NATO member states.

Bills Barring 'Collaborators' From Office Rejected

LD0411223393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Among the bills debated on Thursday [4 November] by deputies of the Saeima in a plenary sitting were those proposed by the faction For the Fatherland and Freedom and the Latvian National Independence Movement on restrictions on persons who collaborated actively with the occupying regime from taking public office. Disputes arose as to how and to whom it would be applied, and eventually the bills were rejected.

Lithuania

Brazauskas Comments on Return From Moscow Talks

LD0511093093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0735 GMT 5 Nov 93

[Statement to journalists by President Algirdas Brazauskas in Vilnius on 5 November—live or recorded]

[Text] Good morning. We returned from Moscow late last night and I already had an opportunity to read in the newspapers the reaction of our journalists to this working visit. I would like to stress, first of all, that this visit took place on the basis of the declaration which was adopted on 30 August, when further steps of our cooperation were discussed. One of them was the meeting which took place yesterday.

I would not like to describe everything in detail: a lot has been written and said by our press and on the radio and television. I would like only to stress that the visit was significant in the sense that we, together with President Yeltsin, discussed the main steps of our further cooperation. Some people are attempting to comment by various means on the fact that agreements were not signed. We have prepared a list of these agreements—there are about 20 of them. Seven or eight of them are virtually ready and a substantial number of them could be signed yesterday, but we reached a conclusion that it would be better to do this somewhat later as there is no firm agreement on one or another issue, in spite of the fact that many representatives of our ministries and ministers visited Moscow at the beginning of the week. Virgilijus Bulovas, the head of the negotiating delegation, was there, too. Of course, these problems could be solved a few hours before the signing.

We are very interested, the whole Lithuania and each Lithuanian are interested, in the treaty on the further trade and economic cooperation. This treaty is linked with other agreements, on the transit of all means of transport, on the whole, transit through Lithuania of all loads, and we wish and, I think, we will succeed that these issues are be discussed and corresponding agreements are signed here, in Lithuania. I proposed to Yeltsin that this should take place in Lithuania. He supported this and, I think this will be realized. This will depend on the Russian side. We proposed that Russian prime minister visit Lithuania 15-16 November.

Moreover, as you have noticed, there has been a lot of hue and cry, especially during the visit by Vice Premier Shumeyko to Kaliningrad region, about the introduction of visas from 1 November, there is some uncertainty about the conditions of transit through the territory of Lithuania, they are not quite clear to Russian departments which are responsible for this. I think it would be very useful if Chernomyrdin arrives in Lithuania and everything is elucidated here on the spot. If he has time perhaps he could go to Kaliningrad, too.

New Envoy to U.S. Discusses Background, Policies

WS0411143093 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 23 Oct 93 No 207 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Alfonsas Eidintas, newly appointed ambassador to the United States, by Gintaras Vinickas; place and date not given: "Alfonsas Eidintas: 'I Am an Optimist'"]

[Text] [Vinickas] **I think that the Lithuanian people would like to know more about the person who has been appointed to such a responsible position. Many people know only that you are an historian.**

[Eidintas] This is absolutely true. Certainly, I have also been interested in Lithuania's diplomatic history. I wrote the biography of J. Gabrys-Parsaitis, the first Lithuanian politician known in the West, entitled *The Secret Lithuanian Diplomat*. I have read numerous reports on this issue at scientific conferences. I have delivered reports *Political Orientation of the Lithuanian State Council in 1917-19* in Sweden, and *A. Briand's Plan and Lithuania* in Switzerland. Last year, I spoke about the origin of Lithuanian diplomacy at a conference in France, and read the report *Germany and Lithuanian Statehood in the 20th Century* in Bonn and other German cities. I have also participated in international conferences in Vilnius and met with Western politicians visiting the parliament and various research institutes. I have read reports on Lithuania's state history and the current political situation. I gained much when assisting Lithuanian deputies in collecting material about the effects of the secret Molotov-Ribbentrop protocols and the 1940 Soviet occupation. I also helped to prepare material for the Foreign Ministry headed by Mr. A. Saudargas, when it was getting ready for negotiations with the USSR and Belarus. The preparation of materials and political concepts is very similar to the job of an historian. I gained much experience while working as an expert in these groups. I could learn something even from very fragmentary meetings with Lithuanian politicians A. Brazauskas, K. Motieka, R. Ozolas, J. Paleckis, V. Landsbergis, B. Kuzmickas, Supreme Council deputies, and members of its Foreign Affairs Committee.

I have devoted 10 years of my life to studying the history of Lithuanian emigres in the United States. I defended a doctoral thesis *Lithuanian Emigration to Countries of North and South America in 1868-1940* at Vilnius University in 1990. I have written a book *Lithuanian Columbuses* with 170 illustrations, which will soon be issued by the "Mintis" publishing house.

I think that my knowledge of the United States is quite sufficient. I have been to this country three times. I have worked there on probation and taken part in a scientific conference. In 1992, I spent six weeks in Chicago at the invitation of Dr. J. Rackauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Studies Center. All in all, I have spent almost a year in the United States. I know many Americans, mostly from academic circles, Lithuanian emigres and leaders and supporters of their institutions, with whom we launched two great and very important projects last year. The first one is the preparation and publication of *Lithuania's History From Ancient to Modern Times* in Chicago. This project is already nearing completion, and it is supported by the Lithuanian Foundation. I have begun to rally authors for the implementation of the Lithuanian World Community Administration proposal to issue a multivolume publication, *The History of Lithuania's Struggle and Suffering*. I have dedicated my latest book *Aleksandras Stulginskis: Lithuanian President—Siberia's Convict* to these series. This book is already at the "Mintis" publishing house.

Beginning in 1973, I taught European and modern American history and 20th-century international relations at Vilnius Pedagogical Institute. Since 1987, when I began to work at the Institute of Lithuanian History, I have had more time for research. Since then, I have actually written seven books on Lithuania's recent history and compiled several collections of important documents (*Protocols of the Lithuanian State Council in 1917-18, A. Smetona's [pre-war president] Selected Works*, and *Lithuania's Occupation and Annexation* in cooperation with other authors, which is still in print). My colleagues and I have written hundreds of certificates concerning the problems of Lithuanian history and the change of borders. I think that this experience will also be useful in my diplomatic work. I have organized several international and national conferences of historians and political scientists. The fact that I have been a chief in my pedagogical work and research also gives me confidence. I have worked as a department head, an assistant dean, a section chief, and an institute deputy director for research. Moreover, I am chairman of the Lithuanian National Historians' Committee and a member and expert in the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

I belong to no political party or movement.

[Vinickas] **When was this office proposed to you?**

[Eidintas] I agreed to work for the benefit of the Lithuanian diplomatic service in late June. There was only one essential question and reply. Definite conversations began in mid-July, and the proposal astounded me—I am being absolutely frank—particularly because of its great responsibility and extraordinary significance, the more so as I did not have much practical experience. First of all, an ambassador represents his own country and its president in person, according to tradition. An ambassador has the right to have direct contacts with the leader of the state to which he is accredited. Furthermore, an envoy holds negotiations with the Foreign Ministry of that country and diplomatic representatives of other countries. He reports to his government on that country's political and economic life and defends the rights and interests of his country's citizens.

On the other hand, the ambassadorial replacement in the United States was an old fact that had acquired a certain political tint in Lithuania. It would have seemed strange if I had refused a definite proposal after agreeing to work in the diplomatic service. The government knows better. It has more information and the right to choose. I dared assume this position because I felt that I could be useful to Lithuania.

[Vinickas] **I think that there were many more candidates. In your opinion, why were you chosen?**

[Eidintas] I do not think that I can comment on this.

[Vinickas] **Recently, we have heard reproaches about the work of our embassy in the United States. Do you think that they are justified?**

[Eidintas] I agree to discuss this in a year's time, when I have something to compare. This is a different problem, and certain opinions expressed by our emigres have proven this. When the Lithuanian state was nonexistent, emigres assisted in maintaining Lithuanian diplomatic missions as symbols of sovereignty of a temporarily occupied country. Thus, Lithuanian missions were knit together with emigres' lives and organizations, as it were, and became important centers of the Lithuanian spirit. A new era has begun now. The Republic of Lithuania has been restored. Its diplomatic services must be financed by our state. Lithuanian diplomats will work and gain experience there. This process has already begun, and it will continue. No matter what party is in power, diplomats will change. Regardless of emigres' likes or dislikes, the Foreign Ministry will consider its own interests and internal statute. Thus, a new generation will come to replace old diplomats—life itself will demand this. Everyone understands this. When these changes begin, however, it is natural that emigres become anxious about whether Lithuanian missions will not be alien to them. I would like to stress that we will expand and strengthen cooperation with emigres' organizations, and we will grudge neither time nor effort for this. I also intend to invite American Lithuanians to assist the embassy. This would be a nice synthesis of the work of European and American Lithuanians.

[Vinickas] **Your appointment is related to another person's removal from office....**

[Eidintas] I did not ask for this. I agreed to work in the Lithuanian diplomatic service after receiving a proposal. Representatives execute their government's decisions rather than discuss them. On the other hand, their change is a natural thing. One works when appointed and returns home when recalled. This is the case everywhere, and it will also be introduced in Lithuania. The same will happen to me.

[Vinickas] **How would you assess the current relations between Lithuania and the United States?**

[Eidintas] These relations are very good. Lithuanian people have received U.S. aid and support from their relatives and friends since the late 19th century. Emigres' organizations supported the Lithuanian national movement and assisted in restoring the Lithuanian state. When Lithuania lost its independence, emigres conducted a consistent policy of nonrecognition concerning the annexation of the Baltic states by the USSR. Thus, the image of the Unites States as an advocate, defender, and supporter is very strong among the Lithuanian nation. The United States not only supports Lithuania's independence and helps it to become a democratic country, but also renders enormous political, economic, and technological assistance. American foundations and organizations educate, consult, and support us. Cooperation is very close, both on the government and other levels. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Lithuania has become well known to Americans, and their opinion about our country is positive.

I would be very proud if I managed to introduce some new moments into these harmonious relations between the two nations and contribute to their rapprochement.

[Vinickas] **One is left with the impression that most of Lithuanian Americans, particularly the older generation, observe Lithuania's current government with caution. In your opinion, what could enhance their trust?**

[Eidintas] We cannot avoid history again. The wave of Lithuanian emigration in 1944 was political—people were fleeing to the West from Soviet communist regime. After the recent Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party victory in elections, emigres look at it as a party of former communists who have slightly changed their color. It is natural that they mistrust the government's future political line. Moreover, what causes the emigres' indignation? Disorder in government structures, bribery, corruption, a boost in mafia activity, the citizenship law, and an economic crisis. These problems are similar to those that existed in 1920 to 1922, when Lithuanians who came from the United States would criticize the government and its officials, while many who were disillusioned would return to America. Trust could be enhanced by resolute government actions to execute economic reform, impose order in bureaucratic structures, and involve emigres in the construction of the Lithuanian state on a large scale. I suppose that emigres would welcome the rapprochement of the Baltic states, the expansion of cooperation with countries of the Baltic region, the integration with West European structures, and, it goes without saying, the maintenance and enrichment of good U.S.-Lithuanian interstate relations.

Lithuanians and emigres living abroad are part of the same nation. However, they were separated over the entire Soviet period and knew very little about one another. A large-scale mutual familiarization has now begun, and both sides have slightly disappointed—we no longer look ideal to one another. Hardly the best emigre representatives have already caused much damage both here and over there. Both sides lack reliable information that would be accessible to everyone. Thus, sometimes we fall to the level of rumors, which increases suspicion and misunderstanding. Lithuanian government institutions even do not read emigre publications or know their moods. Therefore, they often impair mutual understanding by ill-considered decisions.

Emigres are also at a crossroads. The most important aspect—Lithuania's liberation and political representation—has suddenly disappeared from their political activities. Several prominent emigre political organizations have ceased functioning. They should look for new roads. However, experienced people should really be used to representing Lithuania's interests on the international scene and be invited to work in our country.

On the whole, there are two negative tendencies today. Emigres often look down on Lithuania's representatives and consider them to be second-rate (because they are former "Soviets"), while Lithuania ignores its overseas assistants who talk much but who do not know its conditions and, therefore, are unsuitable for the work here.

Lithuania should not command emigres how to organize themselves and work, how much to donate and to whom, while emigres should not demand from Lithuania things that it cannot yet have from the economic and political viewpoint. In this case, showing more tolerance than mutual criticism, we could expect to find closer cooperation, understanding, and joint work for the benefit of our homeland. Scholars and literary people have already set hundreds of beautiful examples here (for example, Vytautas Magnus University). Progress in the political and economic spheres is slower.

In general, I am an optimist and I believe that all problems will be resolved. There have never been such difficulties that Lithuanians could not overcome them through joint efforts!

[Vinickas] **Thank you for the interview. Good luck in your new assignment.**